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EDUCATION PLANNING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES

A Dissertation Presented

By

NANA RUTH MBELLE SESHIBE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

September 1979

Education

EDUCATION PLANNING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES

A Dissertation Presented

By

NANA RUTH MBELLE SESHIBE

Approved as to style and content by:

George Urch, Chairperson

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In June of 1976 there were 825-1,000 school children killed in Soweto by the racist regime of South Africa for seeking their liberty. Seven thousand school children were forced to flee across the borders for safety and security. The forces that bring these refugees away and the reception that they receive give continued testimony that the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa and its allies will continue the oppression of the innocent Africans for many more years to come.

It is the duty of the concerned international people to launch an education system that will transform this oppression into liberation and freedom.

This study has brought a deeper understanding of the problems and a greater commitment to the task of finding ways for the Africans in South Africa to unchain themselves. Through all my life as a refugee, the source of my strength has been and will continue to be, the people who stimulate, inspire me and most of all those people who have principles and ideologies of truth. Those people who challenge, praise or criticize my work.

I here gratefully and proudly acknowledge the important roles of the many people who literally made this study

possible.

My advisor, Dr. George Urch, who guided me through the entire process.

Dr. Gloria Joseph, who has been an invaluable source of expertise and support, asking questions at the right time.

Dr. David R. Evans, whose comments and advice on the drafts of the study have been very helpful and instrumental in my progress.

For his attention to my needs, and for his professional service, I am grateful to Dr. John W. Bing.

For their friendship and support I want to thank my fellow students Elsie Walters and Ellen Mulato. Nomvuyo Qubeka and Terry O'Neil have been a constant incentive for me to live up to my ideals.

I am grateful to my husband without whose support and encouragement this work would not have been done.

I am grateful for all these contributors. I will value and cherish them forever.

ABSTRACT

Education Planning for South African Refugees

(September 1979)

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Directed by: Dr. George Urch

Among the various problems which all African countries have to face in connection with their educational systems, one of the most difficult and currently unresolved, concerns curriculum planning for South African refugees. The increase in refugee demands for educational opportunities precipitated the development of this study.

This study attempts to discuss and analyze the functions and roles of the different agencies involved in the planning of refugee education in an attempt to increase understanding of the different variables which complement or negate each other in the planning of the curriculum for South African refugees.

The research methodology for this study consists of four major sections. The first is the review and analysis of the literature from the early 'sixties (the period during which South African refugees evolved), until 1976, which was

the highest exodus time. The second part of the research was through library research materials from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the University of Massachusetts, Harvard, Texas and Boston Universities. The third was interviews with South African refugees who participated in the refugee educational programs and the data were collected by means of participatory observer technique. Determining what are the policies and practices of various host governments, international agencies, private organizations and the Organization of African Unity in the planning of the refugee education.

That these agencies and the development planners of host countries do not coordinate their activities is the major finding of this study. The reasons for these discrepancies are difficult to enumerate, and some suggestions are presented in the areas of curriculum planning. These suggestions include: designing a curriculum that will consider political, economic, societal and social factors that would harmonize the planned educational system and increase cooperation among the curriculum innovators; and provide skills that will be applicable in refugees' host countries as well as in their country of origin upon return. In order to strengthen the education for refugees, host countries' curriculum should be constantly evaluated to see if its goals and objectives are in tune with those of the refugees.

It is also recommended that the refugee students' educational experiences be learner centered, to meet individual needs and upgrade deficient skills. Evaluation of the curriculum is also one of the major components of the curriculum planning, while continuous research will aid the planners to focus their plan using the data collected.

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C H A P T E R I

EDUCATION PLANNING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Exile is the emptiness -- for
however much you brought with you,
there is far more you have
left behind.
Exile is the ego that shrinks,
for how can you prove
what you were and what you did?
Exile is the escape . . .
often worse than prison.

Exile is the xenophobe -- for
every single one who likes you,
you'll find ten in whom
there is nothing but hate,
Exile is the xanthippe
nagging you for thoughts
unthoughts
and for words unspoken.

Exile is the end and the beginning --
Exile is the eruption whose lava stream
carries you away --
it is the eternity measured in minutes,
the eyes that never enjoy the familiar
sight,
the ears that listen to alien music.

Exile is a song
that only the singer can hear,
Exile is an illness
that not even death can cure -- for
how can you rest in soil that did not
nourish you?
Exile is the warning example
to those who still have
their homes,
who belong.
But will you take heed
of the warning?

Exile is the infinitive
you cannot help splitting --
the intention that is never equalled
by the execution.
Exile is the invasion
that can never succeed --
for you can never conquer
your inhibitions --
it is the incubus
riding your pillow.

Exile is the loneliness
in the middle of a crowd --
Exile is longing
never to be fulfilled,
it is love unrequited,
the loss never replaced --
the listless,
loveless,
long wait -- for
the train that never arrives,
the plane that never
gets off the ground.[1]

Presently, Africa has 1.5 million[2] refugees that are a challenge to its process of development and unification. Throughout history, the international communities have generously offered asylum to the victims of political, racial and religious persecution. Africa bore its share at the dawn of its independence from colonialism, beginning with the Algerian revolution.

The struggle for independence of sub-Sahara African countries started with Ghana in 1957.[3] The refugees can be categorized as follows:

a. Those coming from territories still under colonial domination and from settler territories;

b. Those coming from independent African countries.

These refugees are hosted by different countries whose socie-

ties are themselves struggling for stability and nationhood. In building these new nations the African governments are faced with the major problem of education, which is a basic necessity in societal development. The new nations have to change the phenomenon encountered throughout Africa that education is a means

> . . . to an easy, easeful life, away from the toil and soiled hands and monotony of life in the village. It makes a person modern, up-to-date, enables a man to wear gloves, carry a brief case and look like the young men in the advertisements.[4]

Some governments have realized the basic educational conflict that seems to exist between colonial educational norms and traditional societal concepts of education. The traditional methods involve learning about practical skills, normative behaviors and cognitive belief. These objectives are essential for the individual to survive in and manipulate his environment and community. Learning evolved from elders, peer interaction and apprenticeship.

Colonial education was centered around schooling which meant that students had to spend a specific amount of time in an educational institution to obtain a certificate of being educated. As these new nations began to challenge the content and mode of education designed for industrialized countries, education seemed the major institution from which new national concepts could be engineered. They began to reconstruct their educational system to fit the needs of their own societies. Refugees had to be part of these sys-

tems. The refugees then tried to fit into these educational systems which embodied the new nations' ideals, values and ways of thinking; ways which frequently were in conflict with their own.

In many cases, the school curricula within these infant nations is prescribed by national planners. If a school or community wished to include refugee educational needs within their systems, it has to consult and request permission from the Ministry of Education; a process which might involve parliamentary amendments, before it can be acted upon. Furthermore, these governments are hard-pressed to raise the level of education within their own nations. They can ill afford to set aside precious places for foreigners.[5] Their immigration guidelines often have had to be changed to include refugee clauses.

The refugee host countries are presently in a process of designing innovations to meet these challenges. They are working with new designs, developmental theories and their implementation. As they confront these educational issues, they also have to share their scarce resources with the refugees. The social, political and economic institutions see education as the fundamental means to curb these problems. Education is the important avenue that needs urgent attention. The Ministries of Education are trying to institute ways and means whereby the natural resources produced in the countries are distributed on an equitable na-

tional basis. Educational resources are channeled first to the citizens and the refugees receive what each country can manage to contribute.

To ensure national development, political institutions are concerned with giving adequate training to their nationals who are to control and occupy major positions. "The social institutions have the responsibility of providing manpower for the general welfare of their countries such as running hospitals, business establishments and religious organizations."[6] These nations seek to provide education that would better prepare their nationals in skills necessary for their countries' economic development. There are however no comprehensive efforts within these new systems designed to address the education of refugees and provide adequate educational services needed by exiles. The refugees perceive education to be the critical service that will enable them to liberate their countries and provide avenues to enter the modern technological world. Education is the key that will open the door to a better life and better standards of living.

As shall be shown in Chapters III and IV, many countries, international institutions, and private and voluntary organizations realized that no clearly defined educational policies existed for the refugees. Individual organizations including the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have tried to find solutions to the problem but have not

been able to find a comprehensive meaningful educational system with values that are compatible with the refugees' heritages and their present needs.

Host countries have failed to appoint commissions or other agencies to define policies and to elicit responses from the refugee population. Furthermore, no one has looked at other countries outside Africa for innovative models which might assist in identifying problems and suggest new policies.

South African refugees in particular, like other nationals of free peoples, need an educational system whose function is to promote national unity, promote social equality, train all people in social obligations and responsibilities and international citizenry. Some of those involved in refugee education recognize that these refugees, as a result of the Bantu Education within South Africa (Azania), have educational skill deficiencies. First, these refugees have to go through primary schools in their various mother tongues, then undertake junior education in English and finally finish their secondary education in Afrikaans. There is an urgent need for a comprehensive study of the South African educational system to determine the deficiencies inherent in Bantu Education and to design programs for counseling refugees in their academic careers.

In order for education to contribute to refugee social development, coordination must exist among the organizations involved to provide a philosophy, policies and

practices to determine the needed academic skills for the present and future of refugees in exile and for their return to their country of origin.

Nowhere in Africa has colonial education been so deficient as in South Africa. Its focus does not meet the needs of the country nor does it inculcate a sense of commitment to the development of the community, in technical and administrative skills. It does not help the students to build concepts and values appropriate to their future. Its philosophy is an end in itself. The students' organizations have pointed out that it is a system designed for their underdevelopment and it must be changed.

The Bantu Education philosophy of underdevelopment can be countered through the construction of a new education system for those South Africans who are exiled. The exiled politicians could design philosophies and integrate them with curriculum designs to serve and provide a framework in which to make education for exiles relevant to them and their societal needs. This approach is needed in order to provide an overall philosophy with goals and objectives relevant to refugee educational needs. A comprehensive study of all African refugees' educational problems to determine various governmental roles would be a monumental task beyond the scope of one work. Hence this study will focus upon secondary education opportunities available to South African refugees.

This work will explore feasible education models which would begin to meet refugee needs in host countries. The writer will examine the problems that are inherent in the host countries' educational systems. The study is concerned with secondary education since most of the South African refugees fall under this school-age category.

More specifically the study will examine the following questions:

1. What type of education were the refugees exposed to in their country of origin? What are the problems with it?
2. What policies have been developed in the free African states to assist the welfare of the South African refugees and what are the factors that hinder coordination?
3. Since refugees fall under the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees, what problems does this agency face and how has it tried to solve them?
4. What educational problems have been explored by other voluntary agencies? What were the limitations and weaknesses?
5. What would an alternative curriculum design include and why?

This study will explore feasible alternative secondary educational approaches offered in Western industrial countries. After an examination of the problems of Bantu

Education, the study will then focus on the problems that result from unplanned or inappropriate education within the free African states. From these analyses a curriculum will be developed which will create an understanding of the scientific method, of the processes of nature, and functional knowledge skills for earning a living and for civic participation.[7] The curriculum will focus in part on the science skills which are omitted in the Bantu Education curricula.

Research Design

The study is based on information collected in four ways: from a library search, from personal experience, from case studies, and from interviews with South African refugees based in Africa and the United States and their official political representatives.

The first source consists of available materials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCFR) on African refugees. These primary sources are available in libraries and particularly the United Nations Library. Other reference sources such as those of voluntary organizations were also used. Through personal contact with some of the education officers of the liberation movements, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the writer was provided with relevant documents on education for South African refugees.

Another source of information has been interviews

with refugee students studying in Africa and those seeking educational opportunities.

The first part of the study will be an analysis of the practices and policies of Bantu Education. The information will be analyzed to explore what appears to be a hidden dimension of Bantu Education and the relationship of Bantu Education to the African population of South Africa. Case studies will be utilized to study both Bantu Education practices and educational systems of host countries where South African refugees obtain their secondary schooling. Following the case studies the focus will shift to an analysis of the problems and approaches to solving them. The struggle of an American institution in Tanzania to develop a secondary school for refugees will be highlighted in Chapter V.

The second section of this study will proceed from an analysis of case studies and issues raised to an attempt to wrestle with the problems of designing a suitable curriculum to meet the educational needs of refugees.

The last part of this study will include observation and reflections to provide a basis for subsequent discussion and recommendations. The discussions will focus on the problems involved when attempts are made to adapt foreign precepts of education for refugees and identify concerns and needs of South African refugees in free African states.

Limitations of the Study

The study is concerned with the training of South African refugees within the host African states. Most of these refugees have been uprooted as a consequence of the repressive practices of the South African regime. Because of their political activities within the system, they find themselves fleeing the country in fear of being imprisoned, banished or under house arrest. The majority of them leave the country prior to completion of secondary school, which is the major concern of this study. There is a good number of those students who were expelled at the university level, but higher education for refugees is beyond the scope of this study.

Although there exist similarities in the secondary education of the African states, there are different policies pursued in reaching the goals of national development. There are internal political, economic and social conditions that dictate the nature of national policies toward the refugees.

A case in point is that Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, economically dependent on South Africa, do not want to host refugees for fear of retribution by the South African government. They therefore serve as transit countries and their programs are different from those countries like Tanzania that go to the extent of providing military

training for these refugees to fight for their liberation.

This study will look at the historical role of countries further north such as Tanzania, which are prepared to harbor refugees on a large scale. It will deal with those countries and their refugee policies while focusing on contemporary secondary education. As these countries pursue their own secondary education curricula, to what extent do their objectives and goals contribute to the skills needed by refugees?

To what extent do learning experiences of refugees in host countries reflect the realities of the exiles' present and future situation? Although other major societal forces affect the educational system's relation to national development, an in-depth discussion of these diverse factors is beyond the realm of this study.

The other limitation of this study was due to the refusal of a number of governments for permission to allow the writer to travel through refugee camps. Therefore it became impossible to obtain a totally representative sample. The fact that the writer is herself a refugee added another limiting factor to the research, as refugees are prohibited from visiting certain camps. It was difficult to obtain current periodicals, journals and government publications from host governments, because one has to secure political party clearance to enter the host countries.

Literature from the refugee headquarters of Geneva's High Commissioner for Refugees' offices was received a year or more after the publication date. Some literature housed in Geneva was requested but never received.

Various proposals or policies initiated by different host countries responding to the new influx of refugees may have been written but are difficult to track down.

The willingness or unwillingness of refugee respondents to answer this researcher's questions was another factor to bear in mind. Most respondents did not readily answer the questions after learning about the study. In most cases, the respondents were reluctant to give formal interviews; whereas they conversed quite freely in informal settings. No overall generalizations will be made nor will a statistical analysis be drawn because the study was not totally representative of all sectors.

Completely understanding the positions of government and voluntary organizations' documents and other reports, as well as interpreting views of refugee representatives were, of themselves, a difficult undertaking. Nevertheless, this investigator attempted to present various expressed views and interpretations as accurately as possible.

Review of Literature

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCFR) began its direct involvement with African refugees in 1957 at the time when Morocco was the only African member of the 1951 Geneva Convention. This agency had to incorporate the African refugees within the general refugee definition since the convention covered only the European refugee victims of World War II.

The purpose of the UNHCFR in Africa was to provide shelter, food and protection to the victims of repressive settler regimes, colonialism and those who fled coup d'etats and to advise the new governments concerning its policies and practices. According to the UNHCFR, all countries are expected to give protection to refugees regardless of whether they are parties to the Geneva Convention or not.

In 1963, the independent African states formed the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as a body where matters relating to the problems of Africa could be discussed. The refugee issue was one of this new organization's priority problems. The OAU immediately after its inception formed a commission to define the legal status of African refugees. The term refugee as previously defined by the UN did not include African refugees because it was designed to cover victims of World War II. Since African countries were colonies during this era and were not directly victimized, they were

not included in the convention's protective clause.

It took the African independent countries six years to establish and add a category to the 1951 Geneva Convention. It added that the term refugee shall also apply to "every person, who owing to external aggression, occupation and foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence to seek refuge in another place outside of his country of origin or nationality."[8] This definition was added in 1969 to the 1951 Geneva Convention and it empowered the UNHCFR to fully protect African refugees as it does other international exiles.

The High Commissioner for Refugees works closely with other United Nations agencies in reaching certain solutions to African refugee problems. In 1967, a Memorandum of Understanding on education for African refugees was concluded between UNESCO and UNHCFR defining the areas of cooperation between the two agencies. This understanding came about when the African countries and international agencies agreed that the refugee settlement project should fall within the host countries' programs sponsored by the UN agencies. Within the memorandum, one of its important aspects was that the HC had to have some of its staff come from the UNESCO education staff, to assess the programs to be engineered under a joint program. In article 22.1 of the 1951 Conven-

tion, it stated that "The contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education."[9] Since the UNHCFR is not an agency that engages in country developmental projects, UNESCO became the appropriate agency with whom to contract.

In 1970, another arrangement was undertaken on the Division of Competency between the United Nations Education and Training Program for Southern Africans (UNEP) and the UNHCFR. This arrangement required that the UNHCFR provide educational assistance up to the first level of secondary education. The higher educational programs for Southern Africans was made to rest with UNEP. This arrangement only affects these two agencies and does not interfere with the program of any other United Nations bodies, and governmental or voluntary agencies.

Other agencies which had significant roles with respect to the African refugees' problem are the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the African Financial Organization (AFO). These organizations held a meeting in 1960 to discuss the problem of 79,000 refugees in Burundi. The Burundi Government and the UNHCFR initiated a land settlement program and three settlements were finally established to remove refugees from border areas. The project is an example of how temporary solutions are reached through the UNHCFR and other agencies.

The Seminar on African Refugees and Education of May 1971 organized at the Zeist Castle, Netherlands, examined the nature and principle of giving assistance to liberation movements. The other objective of the seminar was to explore the possibilities for "joint policy and actual cooperation between those organizations which have genuine interest in this aspect of assistance and have mandates to do so."[10] Several panels in this conference specifically focused upon the issue of which liberation movement should be supported and how they should be selected; what type of assistance should be provided, how this assistance should be offered to "liberation movement dissenters"; what does a sponsoring organization do when the liberation movement splits or disintegrates in the middle of program implementation; and finally how operational agencies willing to support the liberation movements can financially cooperate both on policy and execution.

Refugees in Kenya Formerly Affiliated with Liberation Movements was another document examined and was helpful in assessing educational policy statements and programs affecting South African exiles in Kenya. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Report and periodicals provided the writer with contemporary views and factors that affected refugees.

Much of the materials specifically addressing education is contained in donor agencies and governmental docu-

ments. There are, however, no books which pertain to South African refugee education. Historical assessment of policies which influence the entire realm of education was obtained from different conference papers of the African Studies Association (located in Boston). The dissertation which had most relevance to the study was an unpublished manuscript by Jefferson Murphy of the University of Connecticut. This dissertation studied South African enrollments and showed that as lower primary education increased, enrollment dropped significantly in higher primary and secondary school. Murphy concluded that Bantu Education was not geared to the needs of Africans but was developed rather to promote the separate development of the races.

A Directory of Organizations Rendering Assistance to African Refugees was a helpful document which provided this study with organizations affiliated with refugee educational assistance. The Europe/Africa Research Project in London attempts to serve as an information center, supplying information mainly to the British and European public on social, political, economic and development problems in the Third World, particularly Africa. The International University Exchange helped the writer in tracing the historical administration of scholarship programs in Europe.

The Organization for African Unity Bureau for Placement documents were quite relevant to this study. The documents gave the relevant policies and priorities that govern

the OAU's actions with regard to refugee problems. They indicate the historical procedures that have been followed in placing refugees upon the completion of their training. These documents were also essential in showing the importance of using the OAU as a body through which all refugee aid is channeled.

Definition of Terms

Throughout this study several concepts such as education, curriculum, philosophy and policy program are used. The following will be the working definitions of these and other concepts.

1. Aims of education. These refer to the more remote goals or desired ends. In no case will aims be used in this study as synonymous with objectives.

2. Course of study. The course of study is a written guide for use of teachers while directing the experience of learners.

3. Curriculum design. Refers to a planned document to be used in schools. The form, arrangement and content of this document shall be called curriculum design. Design shall be used to refer to the nature and condition of the program that describes what is to be taught in school.

4. Education. This term is used in its broadest sense,

drawn from A.G. Melvin: "Education is the process of adjusting the individual to the world in which he lives or will probably live by a well balanced program of learning."[11]

5. Objectives. These refer to more immediate goals or desired ends. The general treatment of objectives as employed in this study alludes to statements of hoped-for outcomes sufficiently definite to control the selection of subject matter or pupil activities.

6. Philosophy of education. Accordingly this term may be defined as a generalized program or policy, based on a reflective and critical review of available data, for the guidance of educational procedure.

7. Policy. This term shall describe a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions. It could be a method designed for the implementation of a specific course of action. There is usually an underlying philosophical premise.

8. Refugee. Shall apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence to seek refuge in another place outside his own country of origin or nationality.

9. Refugee student. Shall refer to those individuals engaged in or preparing to enter an institution to study full or part time and are in pursuit of an academic degree or diploma in education.

Summary and Overview of the Study

The issue of secondary education is the most challenging problem confronting the Independent African States. Contributions of all social institutions are necessary for the massive endeavor of manpower development. According to the South African refugees' perception, education is the main institution that can alleviate their problems in African states and aid them in designing processes that will lead them to their liberation. Education, planned and designed to address diverse facets of the refugees' needs, is urgently needed to meet skilled manpower requirements and to ameliorate the negative effects of the apartheid system.

The liberation movements' leadership, the UNHCFR, the government, and voluntary organizations envisage short-range training programs, while the refugees prefer long-range educational training that will help them improve their present conditions and their conditions in their country of origin. The specific problem is to provide refugee masses immediate results in terms of educational programs related to their needs. The purpose of this study is

to design a curriculum for refugees during their stay in exile and project desired skills toward the developmental needs of the South African society. It is hypothesized that there must be philosophies, guidelines and programs that provide these refugee societies with a sense of direction. These factors when planned can afford a positive direction for the scholarship donors and contribute to the South African societal development in the most optimal manner.

Chapter II will provide an extensive review of the formulation of Bantu Education, and a discussion of the educational foundation of the South African people's underdevelopment. Considerable emphasis will be placed upon the deficiencies of this education.

Chapter III will examine the policies of host countries and the UNHCFR that govern African refugees and the problems imbedded within them, and how they relate to the everyday life of a refugee.

Chapter IV will analyze the secondary school in Tanzania that was designed for refugees and what led to its failure and finally its closure. This case will be analyzed for its implications for future refugee programs.

Chapter V will design a curriculum for secondary education which will enable refugees to assess the skills needed in accordance with African manpower and developmental needs; and those of their country of origin. The objec-

tives and content of the curriculum will incorporate the views and interpretations of refugees, and the liberation movement leadership.

Chapter VI will present reflections and conclusions and recommendations for change in refugee training programs. It will contain the major findings of the study.

Endnotes--Chapter I

[1]Nana Seshibe, unpublished poem (1977).

[2]Sven Hamrell, Refugee Problems in Africa (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), p. 9.

[3]Kwame Nkrumah, Towards Colonial Freedom (London: Heinemann, 1962), p. 15.

[4]Francis X. Sutton, "Education and the Making of Modern Nations," in Education and Political Development, ed. Coleman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 72.

[5]Hamrell, p. 74.

[6]Tom Mboya, Sessional Paper Number 10, "It Is African and It Is Socialism," East African Journal (May 1969):16-17.

[7]International Council for Educational Development, United Nations International and Scientific Educational Fund, "Non-Formal Education for Rural Development," an Interim Report and Research Study (Essex, Connecticut: ICED, 1973), pp. 16-17.

[8]Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, General Assembly Offical Records, Thirty-second Session Supplement, no. 12, p. 3.

[9]Hamrell, p. 94.

[10]A.G. Melvin, The Technique of Progressive Teaching (Caswell and Cambell, 1967), p. 24.

[11]Jefferson Murphy, "Bantu Education," unpublished dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1972, p. 143.

C H A P T E R I I

GENERAL EVOLUTION OF BANTU EDUCATION

This chapter is a review of the present system of education in South Africa. It provides the background needed for discussion in the later chapters of the school curriculum. This chapter is in three sections. The first section is a brief statement of the geography, economy and the population of South Africa. The second section discusses briefly the country's African educational structure. The last section intends to analyze the system of Bantu Education in order to establish the educational background from which these refugees evolved. If Bantu Education is different from modern education systems of industrialized Western countries, in what ways is it different? This chapter gives background accounts of the formation of this system and the problems that have emerged. It will illustrate, analyze and interpret the available data to show the inherent problems in the primary and secondary system. University and teacher training colleges are mentioned to provide an overall understanding of the education system.

C H A P T E R I V

THE LEGAL AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF AFRICAN REFUGEES

General Historical Problem

The increase in numbers of South African refugees in need of educational opportunities and job placement has presented new demands to host governments and assisting agencies. Although governments may be officially committed to respond to these problems favorably, in reality the attitude of most of the African governments towards refugees is one of ambivalence.

One of the causes of their hesitation to help is the fear of unfavorable reaction of their own people. It is argued that refugees may deprive nationals of jobs or educational advancement. The fact remains, however, that refugees and local communities are seldom brought together to explore and understand the needs and problems of refugees. Information about who assists the refugees, and how their presence affects the general population is seldom communicated to the general population among whom they are living.

Another pertinent factor which dictates official

governments' behavior is the general problem of national security. As a result of the high degree of sensitivity about potential "security risks," many governments tend to confine refugees fairly strictly to certain areas. Some governments have made immigrants transients with only a limited period of stay.

In this chapter the writer intends to describe and analyze these issues and to examine the rules and regulations of five countries as they relate to refugees. The policies and regulations affecting refugees in these countries will be analyzed. The study will identify the major obstacles which make social adjustment, self-realization and self-sufficiency difficult for the refugees. Each country's regulations will be examined with the purpose of establishing areas where counseling for refugees is needed.

It is important in this chapter to define a refugee in order to understand who these individuals are and what governs their welfare as international subjects. The OAU has become the body through which the emerging African governments could address and direct their problems cooperatively. It therefore has become the logical organization to research and analyze the problems of African refugees and to propose both short- and long-range solutions to their plight. However, differences between African nations have limited the OAU's ability to successfully deal with these problems. The matter is further complicated by the need for

policy coordination with the United Nations which has been, since 1948, the international organization responsible for the welfare of displaced victims of political upheavals, religious conflicts and natural disasters such as earthquakes. In 1951 a meeting was convened in Geneva, Switzerland[1] to come up with guidelines that would govern all victims arising from such uprisings. However, before the clauses and guiding laws could be drawn, the convention was first commissioned to establish a definition of "refugee":

> Every person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside of his Nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country . . . shall be called a refugee.[2]

A separate department within the United Nations was formed in February of 1951 and was called the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCFR). This Commission's role was to develop the functions then performed by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) and to advise the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations on all questions relating to refugees.[3]

It was further to provide legal and political protection to refugees,

> To safeguard the rights and legitimate interests of refugees, and in particular to provide for, observe and regulate the application of the existing agreements on the legal status of refugees; to provide, if necessary, for their revision; to supervise their day-to-day application in particular cases; to provide, if necessary, for the conclusion

> of new agreements; and to exercise quasi-consular functions. . . . This [legal] protection is at the same time of a political nature, in that it implies relations with the Government.[4]

The formation of the UNHCFR was aimed at preventing discrimination against refugees; at ensuring their economic and social rights and freedom of movement within and outside their country of residence; at establishing international and national recognition of human rights as far as they affected refugees, particularly the right of asylum, the right of the individual to have a nationality, and the right of immigration. The commission also plays an important role in ensuring that governments are willing to provide temporary asylum, and security against forcible repatriation. The educational role of this regarding South African refugees will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

The new African governments, who were not signatories to the 1951 Convention but are members of the United Nations, are expected to honor the provision of the UNHCFR which provides asylum to refugees fleeing neighboring states. The difficulties these nations face in meeting these demands are evidenced first by the fact that determining and establishing the identity of a person as a bona fide refugee is itself a difficult task. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), formed in 1963, established a commission that would examine the problems of refugees and

advise the Organization on all the issues of concern to the member governments. An important step for these governments to take would be to draft a regional convention that would govern the status of refugees so as to remove "refugees" as a source of political tensions. Most refugees in Africa are a product of political instability and unrest from independent African states; they could conceivably use countries of asylum as a base from which legal governments could be overthrown by refugee nationals.

It is important for OAU member states to prevent refugees from undertaking subversive acts against their home governments and to assist in the repatriation of refugees who subsequently wish to return home, to depoliticize the refugee problem and transform it to a humanitarian issue, amenable to permanent solution.

These states have had to look for guidelines from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee Statutes. Unfortunately the 1951 Geneva Convention did not legally encompass the African refugees. In agreeing to the 1951 Convention, African states affirmed that it defines the minimum standard of treatment that should be accorded to refugees. However, the African states as contracting parties were not legally bound by any particular standards of treatment to refugees in Africa since few, if any, of these refugees came within a key provision of the 1951 Convention: "In order to be entitled to Convention coverage

they must be refugees as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951."[5]

This compelled the OAU to draft a regional convention which would govern the status of refugees in Africa. The Council of Ministers of the OAU in 1964 then formed an Ad Hoc Commission on Refugee Problems in Africa consisting of representatives from ten states.

This Commission's task was to examine the problems and make recommendations as to how they would solve and maintain refugees in the countries of asylum. The Commission in its first meeting concerned itself with the drafting of the convention which dropped the 1951 dateline. This draft was known as the "Kampala Draft."[6] It took five drafts before a Protocol on the convention was finally passed by the United Nations organs as a legal document. This Convention was necessary so that African refugees could be legally covered by the 1951 Geneva clause.

The Convention was then adopted by the OAU refugee Commission of 1968, but by 1972 only eight states had ratified the convention. It is necessary for one-third of the forty-four member states to ratify the convention in order for it to become binding.[7] However, without its ratification, no law binds the governments to follow the UN guidelines on the rights and protection of the refugees. The OAU Refugee Convention was drawn to supplement the 1951 Geneva Convention to include the African refugees. This

action was recognized by the Preamble of the UN text as constituting the basic and universal instrument relating to the status of all refugees. Members of the United Nations who have not ratified the convention are called upon by the UN Preamble to accede to the 1951 Convention until the OAU Convention is ratified.

The OAU Convention also added another clause to the Geneva Convention's definition of a refugee. The term:

> . . . shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or other events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality. . . .[8]

This clause is known as the 1967 Protocol. This additional clause covers those refugees who are innocent victims of an armed conflict and flee from the breakdown of law and order, such as the 1961 Congolese refugees. This OAU category covers all persons who may be compelled to flee across borders to escape violence of any kind and entitles them to refugee status when granted asylum by a signatory state.

This Convention provision makes all refugees as defined equally eligible to receive travel documents, protection and human rights. However, the Convention has no mandate to enforce the asylum countries to abide by it. Thus it is important to look at these countries' policies

and administration procedures toward refugees.

All African countries pursue different methods in resolving refugee problems. Due to lack of guiding legislation and proper machinery, eligibility of refugees continues to be granted on an ad hoc basis, largely determined by the prevailing political climate in the host country. The Ministry primarily concerned with eligibility arrangements in most countries is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. If all governments would implement and adhere to the articles of the conventions on refugees of the OAU and the UN, as far as is practicable within the circumstances of each country of asylum, maximum advantage could be obtained by these nations.

The countries of Botswana, Lesotho, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zambia are examined below in order to understand the complexities involved in planning educational policies for the South African refugees. They are sighted because they have the largest refugee population and are reached first by those escaping from South Africa. Also examined will be the problems which obstruct the establishment of coherent and relevant educational programs for South African refugees.

Botswana. In 1966, on acquiring independence, this new nation was cautious not to antagonize the Republic of South Africa by harboring refugees who might use Botswana as a base for attacks against South Africa. The President of Botswana announced that his government would not permit his country to be used as a base for the organization or planning of violent activities directed towards other states, and would expect reciprocal treatment from his neighbors.[9] Because of the geographical location of Botswana and its economic dependency on the Republic of South Africa, it legislated that only transit facilities would be offered refugees in the "Refugee Recognition and Control Amendment Act of 1967."[10]

Although Botswana had to honor the 1951 Convention as a member of the UN, and fulfill its obligation as an independent state, it was very cautious in hosting South African refugees because of dependence upon South Africa. In 1968, 3,800 refugees from Angola entered Botswana but were not offered settlement rights, even though the UNHCFR negotiated with the Botswana government toward that end. It was not until 1969, at the United Nations General Assembly, that the President of Botswana declared that:

> Botswana recognized a responsibility to those victims of political circumstances and we are trying to discharge that responsibility as well as our

> resources permit. . . . On our part, we have granted refugees recognition of their status; we have allowed them to settle in various parts of our country and find jobs or open their own businesses; and where possible, we educate them as well as our limited educational and training facilities permit. Equally important, we issue UN travel documents with a return clause to those refugees who wish to travel to other countries where suitable training establishments are able to accept them.[11]

This statement did not alter the 1967 Control Act which continues to provoke fear and insecurity among individual refugees; under this Act, the government officers assess each case individually. Within the provisions of this Act, formal procedures are initiated to determine eligibility for refugee status. The government has established eight advisory committees in various parts of the country to interview refugees and official recognition is granted or denied depending on these officials' recommendations. Criteria for qualifying for official recognition is not made public. Each of these committees is made up of a District Commissioner and a senior police official. The refugees are not counseled or advised as to the role of the police. Coming from South Africa where police often arrest people without cause, some refugees fail to report their presence out of fear that they might be returned to the Republic.

The Botswana government, however, has adopted the refugee definition contained in the 1967 OAU Protocol, which requires the government to grant asylum. But there is no international monitoring agent to enforce this clause, and

refugees suffer the consequences; e.g., in 1968, 18 Namibian refugees were arrested in Botswana by the South African police and taken to the Republic. The Botswana Refugee Act of 1967 deals with restrictions and the removal of persons recognized as refugees, and with restrictions for the control of such persons while in Botswana. It is possible for any refugee in the country to be detained or his movement or or activities restricted by the Botswana authorities.

The Botswana policy also indicates that refugees should not be encouraged to remain indefinitely in Botswana. Refugees may leave Botswana at any time if the country he/she wishes to go to will receive him/her without his/her possessing the "right of re-entry to Botswana." The Botswana 1967 Control Act also specifies that recognized refugees will not be considered residents no matter how long they stay in the country.

The Botswana Refugee Act requires that each case be dealt with on an individual basis and centralizes the decisions within a specified Botswana authority. Those refugees who flee their countries without a thorough understanding of what will happen to them are often put in the position of lying about their reasons for fleeing to secure their refugee status. In Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has an officer whose function is to render assistance to the government. Occasionally he is invited to meet with decision-

making authorities on certain cases of a highly political nature; however, the Botswana authorities have the final say as to the actions taken. Many refugees have consequently been denied asylum and deported; others have been jailed without trial. Refugees who qualify to work must have their work permits renewed every six months. This measure discourages refugees from seeking work permits in Botswana.

Those persons granted refugee status are required to adhere to rigorous restrictions. These may include instructions to report to the police weekly, limitations as to place of residency, restriction as to the scope of physical movement (e.g., twenty-four hour limit on movements outside the area of domicile), and warning against participation in Botswana politics. Resident permits are sometimes offered and are valid for two years; this document relieves the holder of obligations to report to the police weekly. Between the period of 1968 and 1974 only seventy-seven people were recognized as refugees in Botswana out of 500 who entered the country.[12]

The problems of refugee education in Botswana. The educational development of Botswana owes much to the London Missionary Society. The first secondary school was established in 1944. Educational facilities even now are few and inadequate. These facilities are unable to meet the needs of the large percent of the population under fifteen

years of age. Of the 280 primary schools in Botswana only 130 offer a full seven-year course. Although enrollment in school has increased since independence, new facilities have not been made available. The overcrowded primary schools retard individual achievement and many students drop out. Only twenty percent of the entering classes graduate from primary schools.

The curriculum designed by the Ministry of Education is tailored to meet the needs of the country. It is recognized that the majority of the population will inevitably be employed in the rural economy of the country. Agriculture is therefore one of the major courses in the curriculum. Other courses include mathematics, science and social studies at the primary level. Setswana is used as the medium of instruction for the first two years of schooling, after which English is used. Before 1971 [the latest date for which figures are available], no refugee children had been admitted.

Residents' permits are a prerequisite for refugees seeking admission to secondary schools. Not all secondary schools offer the full curriculum of five years; most offer only the Junior Certificate. English, mathematics, history, biology, health science and French compose the curriculum which qualifies one to obtain a General Cambridge School Certificate.

Refugee enrollment at the university level has been

minimal. The policy of the university states that only five percent of the student population may be non-nationals.

The legislative and educational policies in Lesotho and Swaziland. Swaziland and Lesotho, surrounded as they are by South Africa, are in a more difficult position than other African countries regarding South African refugees. The economic and political powers of the Republic of South Africa weaken these countries' ability to maintain constructive policies towards refugees. South Africa is the major trading partner of both these countries and employs more of their nationals in wage-earning employment than are employed within the countries themselves. Neither Swaziland nor Lesotho can communicate or trade with the outside world except through facilities owned and operated by South Africa. With the independence of Mozambique, Swaziland now has a second outlet to the outside world, but her economic relations with South Africa have a longer history.

This dependence on South Africa makes decisions by these countries on the question of refugees very sensitive. Their very survival is contingent on their minimal participation in the political struggle of the South African peoples. One aspect of this problem is the reception of refugees and has had dangerous implications for these countries since South Africa has on several occasions warned that she would do anything to protect her borders against

all subversion, actual or anticipated.

The tension between these countries and South Africa has led them to maintain strict control over the movement and activities of refugees within their territories, while at the same time they have not refused asylum to bona fide refugees.

Neither Lesotho nor Swaziland has enacted legislation to deal with refugees, nor have they acceded to the 1967 OAU Protocol. In these countries not all refugees make formal arrangements for recognition, and they are usually granted legal protection through the UNHCFR auspices and are provided with some supplementary aid. Usually these refugees find their own accommodation; their rent and medical assistance is subsidized by the UNHCFR. Qualified refugees usually find employment in Swaziland and the government has not prevented them from working in the country.

In Lesotho in 1968, South African refugees were ordered to leave the country by the Prime Minister for supporting the opposition party. The UNHCFR intervened. The government indicated that for national security reasons, refugees may be handed over to the South African government.[13]

Lesotho has not yet evolved a comprehensive policy for refugees, but has stated that:

> Although refugees' education varies, those who are qualified have had jobs as teachers; some practice as lawyers, and others as market gardners. . . . In the event of a sudden influx of refugees in the near future, assistance would be needed from international community for accommodation and helping to pay transport costs to airlift them to other countries which may agree to accept them.[14]

Refugees recognized by the government are provided some benefits:

> Having stated the limitations of our situation, we cannot ignore the moral responsibility towards our brothers, who are still denied their basic right, and we shall continue to make our modest and practical contributions toward the solution of their problems. We have already made contribution in the past in several ways including providing refuge and refugee support and opening the doors of our schools and colleges to students from those areas. We are, however, not able to contribute to the use of violence.[15]

This statement, made at the UN General Assembly by the Prime Minister of Lesotho, assured the refugees of minimal assistance while at the same time was cautious not to offend South Africa.

The location of Lesotho within the borders of the Republic of South Africa poses problems for refugees who wish to leave for exile to a second country of asylum. All land transportation leaving Lesotho has to go through South Africa. Leaving Lesotho by air is no alternative because only South African Airways transport people going abroad and they have to land in the Republic of South Africa for the people to get international flights. The refugees in Swaziland are not as land-locked as those in Lesotho; at

least they can exit through Mozambique.

In 1967 there were about two hundred refugees in Lesotho.[16] The problems of these refugees have been compounded by the social and economic problems involved in housing and maintaining an unemployable refugee population. One-sixth of this country's population of a million and a half is employed in South Africa.[17] The UNHCFR is the main agency that provides housing and medical allowances to these refugees.

Those refugees who qualify for university entrance receive assistance also from the UNHCFR. Refugees seeking secondary education are accepted into school and their school fees, books and living allowances are contributed by the UNHCFR.

Education facilities. The refugees have to take Sesotho language courses to qualify and complete the Cambridge General Education Certificate. Mathematics, biology, history, physiology, nature study, English and bookkeeping compose the curriculum for the Senior Secondary Education Certificate. The education facilities cannot absorb larger numbers of refugees and as the number increases each year, resettlement is usually handled by the UNHCFR assisted by the government.

Higher education facilities in Swaziland are not available to refugees because this country has a joint campus with the Republic of Botswana. Students who are not

enrolled in agriculture have to transit to Botswana for further studies. Secondary schools in this country follow the same curriculum as Lesotho with the exception of Sesotho language which is replaced by Zulu.

Both these countries lack counseling facilities for refugees. The UNHCFR has played a significant role in helping with legal problems of refugees. For example, thirty-eight refugees were imprisoned in Swaziland in 1970. The UNHCFR officer negotiated with the government for their release.

These countries do not have a planned program for the refugees and are unlikely to do so in the future because of their relationship with South Africa.

Tanzania. Tanzania is not one of those countries that borders the Republic of South Africa. It obtained its independence early enough to be counted as one of the founding members of the OAU. Since its independence this country has hosted approximately 80,000 refugees from all over Africa.

Tanzanian policy is designed to include refugees within the government's overall developmental goals. The government stated that: "The policy of the Tanzanian government is not directed towards the immediate integration of refugees amongst the local population, but towards their integration through the establishment of rural settlements

for refugees."[18] Though this statement was not directed towards the South African refugees, who are largely urban, it sounded welcoming and liberal. Under the Control Act of 1965, the Ministry of Home Affairs may declare as a refugee any class of persons who come from outside Tanzania, and who within seven days obtain from an authorized officer a permit to remain. The government allows members of liberation movements[19] recognized by the OAU to enter the country. Those refugees who need land are provided settlements through arrangements with other international agencies such as the UNHCFR and the Lutheran World Federation to provide assistance and programs. This measure is taken to help refugees to be self-sufficient farmers. Projects such as poultry farms and casy crops are encouraged. The government in 1969 established a naturalization clause by passing a law that said:

> For a refugee to be naturalized in Tanzania, he had to indicate his intention to settle there permanently; show that he was of good character, speak KiSwahili or English, give up his former nationality and have been a resident in the country for seven years.[20]

Unlike the countries previously examined, this government provides a refugee with means that could lead them to realistic goals and provide a sense of security and belongingness. The Tanzanian Refugee Act enacted in 1966 gives the Ministry of Home Affairs powers to regulate the entry, exit and the movement and activities of refugees in the

country. Because of this government's policy and commitment to the liberation movements, this Ministry has to monitor the military activities of refugees and enforce the provisions of the Act. It also establishes procedures for the surrender of arms and ammunition. Refugee property such as cattle and vehicles are registered under this Ministry.

The Minister is also responsible for the deportation of refugees who have failed to secure permits. Some refugees have also been reported to have been detained by this Ministry when found guilty of failing to preserve peace in the territory.

Refugees who defect from South African liberation movements constitute a major problem for this government. The government has no policy guidelines and many such individuals continue to reside in this territory without permit and this problem has become increasingly complex. International agencies cannot provide assistance to such refugees because only the government determines eligibility status within its territory.

Education provisions. In accordance with rural development policy applicable to nationals, scholarships are provided for training of refugees at the primary level. These scholarships are awarded to refugees in settlement areas provided they apply their skills in the settlement areas. Adult literacy, public health and nutrition com-

prise the adult education curriculum in these areas. South African refugees are not part of this program because they have not acquired any settlements. The majority of the South Africans must enter Tanzania through affiliation with a liberation movement. The social and educational needs are provided by these movements depending on resources secured. The source of this income is generally unknown because the refugee representatives raise funds internationally.

South African refugees' educational opportunities at a secondary level are provided by private schools. The East African Examination curriculum is usually followed. Subjects needed for qualification for a school leaving certificate include KiSwahili, English, general science, biology, history, geography, mathematics and chemistry. The refugees have to pass these examinations to enter institutions of higher education.

Entrance to the University of Dar-es-Salaam depends upon admissions positions available after Tanzanian nationals have been selected. This government, by offering easy asylum opportunities to refugees, signifies its commitment to the education of refugees. However, like other countries cited previously, it fails to provide counseling for refugees. More coordination is needed to meet the need to provide quality education for refugees.

Zambia. Zambia's geographical position and military weak-

ness have to a certain extent shaped her refugee policy.

> Zambia is not in a position to accept unlimited numbers of refugees. Zambia will accept only those refugees for whom Zambia is the first country of asylum. For others, Zambia will provide transit facilities only.
>
> Travel documents issued to refugees shall not necessarily have a return clause. The practice is that refugees wishing to leave Zambia for another country are issued with stateless persons travel documents. Zambian government policy is that there is no need for special measures aimed at integration.[21]

This policy shows the cautiousness of Zambia toward harboring refugees, probably because of her geographical location surrounded by the minority regimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

The Zambian Refugee Control Act was passed in 1970. This Act does not use the definition of refugee contained in the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol. Under the 1970 Act, the Zambian government determines who the refugee is, and controls movements and activities. The Minister of Home Affairs declares within certain limitations that broad categories of aliens are refugees on the basis of their nationality, or country of origin. Special refugee officers are delegated authority to implement the declaration of the Minister by issuing permits to persons who fall within these categories.

Permit cards are issued to refugees, but these cards do not guarantee that refugees can stay in Zambia. The rights of refugees recognized by international treaties

bear no relation to the Zambian Refugee Control Act. The government's recognition of these acts is contingent upon further legislation.

In 1964, the government created the International Refugee Council of Zambia (IRCOZ) with representatives from the Christian Council of Zambia and the Episcopal Conference to serve in this council. This organization was to administer the refugees and was responsible to the Minister of Home Affairs; it assisted in the transportation of refugees from different centers into settlement areas. An examination of educational opportunities by this council was conducted and some refugees were placed in certain training institutes within the country.

As the influx of refugees increased and IRCOZ became unable to administer all the refugees the UNHCFR was invited to assist and a new body was formed called the Zambian Christian Refugee Service (ZCRS). ZCRS undertook most of the day-to-day responsibilities but the ultimate authority affecting refugees remains within the Ministry of Home Affairs. Civil servants are appointed to work in settlements as officers. All South African refugees in Zambia were put into the Transit Center where they were only allowed to remain for a period of two months.

The policy governing refugees in Zambia is not well defined and still awaits further legislation.

Education facilities. Primary schools in Zambia are

open to all peoples and government schools are free. The government, however, has not amended its policy regarding the integration of refugees with nationals. The primary school system provides a seven-year course. Its syllabus is patterned after its colonial administrators, the British. To qualify for secondary school entrance, students take an examination in English, arithmetic, verbal reasoning and form perception. It is estimated that only one-third of the refugee students find places in secondary school and this poses great problems for needy refugees.

Zambia's secondary school is comprised of Junior Certificate and General Certificate of Education. The advance level is not offered in this country and students enter the university with "0" level qualifications. A pass of all five subjects is required.

The secondary schools in Zambia lack adequate facilities, particularly for science subjects. The government is considering redesigning its curriculum to meet Zambia's economic conditions. Only ten percent of the secondary school staff are Zambian nationals, primarily because local teachers lack university qualifications. This situation does not help a South African refugee and adds more problems to his educational skill development. Very few South Africans attend schools in Zambia but the number is expected to increase since the new refugee influx of 1976.

This section of the study has shown that both education and immigration laws in some of these countries create problems for refugees.

a. The education facilities are not available;
b. The immigration clauses do not provide adequate adjustment;
c. Work permits are not available to refugees;
d. Re-entry and traveling documents to other countries are not easily available;
e. The major problem is that the refugees do not have adequate international protection in the countries of asylum.

Even though the above outlined issues vary from country to country they do not provide adequate educational facilities. Countries closer to South Africa have tighter laws than those far away.

The Role of the OAU Correspondent and the Establishment of Local Committees

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) formed the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR). Within the BPEAR there exists a correspondent who forms the link between the Secretariat of the Bureau located in the capital of Ethiopia, and the government of his country, international and voluntary agencies engaged in refugee work. He channels information and requests to the Bureau

from these agencies for further action. He acts as a liaison to the problem solving of the refugees.

The correspondent is generally an official nominated by the Bureau and designated by his government to serve as a refugee representative to the Bureau.

The structure of the OAU dealing with the refugee problem throughout the continent consists of the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees as well as two committees:

1. Consultative Committee: comprises representatives of the OAU, Economic Committee on Africa (ECA), UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCFR), ILO, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Education and Scientific Organization (UNESCO), and observers from non-governmental organizations interested in the overall refugee problem. This committee advises the Bureau on its general policy.
2. The Standing Committee: comprises representatives of OAU, ECA, UNHCFR, UNDP and UNESCO. It is mandated to coordinate with the Bureau the efforts required from inter-governmental organizations with a view to enabling it to accomplish its tasks in the most effective manner.

The main tasks of the Bureau are to promote resettlement, placement and education of refugees and to collect

and disseminate information on educational, training and employment opportunities for refugees. It is also a consultative and standing committee, as well as an executive body between sessions.

The UNHCFR's Role in Training and Education of Refugees in Africa

General Overview. This section of the chapter is intended to look at the role of the UNHCFR in its attempt to provide adequate assistance to refugees. It is hoped that the findings will provide a general understanding of the complexities and the magnitude of the problem, and provide some analysis.

To look at the roles of an international organization such as the UNHCFR is to observe a complex multinational institution. The function of the United Nations itself has been viewed as complex and its present system has certain constraints that handicap its major function or roles in relation to refugees. The UNHCFR is the agency possessing supreme responsibility for protecting and advising host countries as to the welfare of refugees. Beyond the provision of shelter and food it carries out important services to refugee populations. This agency attempts to provide security, human dignity, social justice and health to the refugees through the good offices of host countries according to the 1951 Convention as well as through special programs. Unfortunately, UNHCFR cannot guarantee or ade-

quately supervise the host countries' treatment of refugees, although representatives of UNHCFR are stationed in the five countries' capitals studied and can be invited by the governments to recommend legislation affecting refugees.

The office of the UNHCFR attempts to enhance the refugees' lives and provides a sense of concern, which is extremely important for refugees, who are usually cynical towards this international institution because it does not provide total protection to all refugee needs. This institution influences the policies of host governments to an extent that they are forced to host refugees, whether financially equipped or not.

The office of the UNHCFR:

> . . . is an integral part of the UN organization. The High Commissioner is elected by the General Assembly and his administrative budget is part of the general UN budget. The programmes of material assistance and the special education account are, however, financed from voluntary contributions made by member governments or private organizations.[22]

UN member states are urged to participate in the financing of this organization by contributing and increasing substantially the level of contribution at the twenty-seventh session of the UN.[23] This measure was taken because of the increasing number of refugees worldwide.

Education is one of the many activities in which this agency is engaged. The preamble of this organization states that:

> Our primary objective in assisting refugees is to ensure that, as soon as possible, they reach a stage of self sufficiency. Instead of being a burden to the country of asylum and the international community, they should contribute in a meaningful way to the development of the regions in which they have been granted asylum. Implicit in this approach, namely, that the refugee can, with effort, become a valuable human resource, is the corollary that he/she should to the maximum extent possible, be given an opportunity of participating in, and contributing toward, the development of the countries which have so generously granted his refuge.[24]

The above quotation has been quoted extensively to show the enthusiasm within which the UNHCFR hopes to voluntarily repatriate, resettle and settle refugees.

The nature and scope of UNHCFR programs for South African refugees. Prior to 1976, South African refugees fell under the general scope of humanitarian assistance to African refugees by the UNHCFR. On December 16, 1976, the scope of the program received special attention when the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/126 at its 102nd plenary session to meet the increased new numbers of South African refugees.[25] The Assembly requested that the Secretary General:

> . . . consult with the governments of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and the liberation movements concerned with the view to taking immediate steps to organize and provide appropriate emergency financial and other forms of assistance for the care, subsistence and education of these refugee students.[26]

The Secretary General set up a mission to consult with the three governments and concerned agencies and deter-

mine the nature and the extent of financial assistance required to alleviate the situation. The mission reported that South African refugees fall under three categories:

1. Those who fled from threats of political persecution;
2. Those who felt obliged to seek adequate educational opportunities;
3. Those who left to take up active arm struggle against the apartheid regime.[27]

The education agenda for these refugees falls under these countries' prescribed curricula, according to the mission's report. The international community's financial response has been favorable and government contributions as of the end of 1977 were high. The training provision of South African refugees under the UNHCFR falls under the general "Manpower Development and Training for Africans." This training is a means to reach permanent solutions of voluntary repatriation, local settlement and resettlement.[28] It is not seen as a supportive measure to provide occupational training and obtain appropriate developmental expertise envisioned for the country of origin. Nor does it fall under manpower technical needs of the developing African states. There are no measures incorporated to upgrade present skills to meet African states' manpower and technological needs.

To achieve these goals and tailor them to the needs

of the South African refugee student, it is necessary for this agency to provide a wide variety of services and vocational training including basic and remedial education, health services, counseling and placement services. The agency should have joint responsibilities to determine training needs and provide programs of counseling selection job development and job placement.

General assistance of the UNHCFR to all African refugees. In 1966 the Refugee Education Account was established and was conceived as a "fund for investment," both for the refugee and for the development of countries which have received them, with the goal to help the refugees to become and remain fully integrated members of the community, to be both self-supporting and to make as productive a contribution as far as possible in the life of that community.[29] However, among the South African refugees there has been growing resentment that community settlement was not enough to meet their basic needs. Because they suffered significant cultural, economic, emotional and physical handicaps, more so than others, their needs were also significantly greater. To this end the UNHCFR attempted to finance secondary education "only insofar as it leads directly to employment or to successful higher education."[30] The OAU recommended that secondary education be obtained for African students. This scholarship program is mainly supported by Nordic countries,

the Danish, the Norwegian Council and the Swedish. With the establishment of this African Education Account many UN agencies found a role to play, including the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World Health Organization (WHO). At the request of the UNHCFR, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed which provided guidelines for cooperation among these UN departments. UNESCO offered to provide technical advice and school buildings, curricula, school materials and teacher training and also administered fellowships for university students.

In the years that followed most funds allocated were "earmarked" to assist given groups of refugees in given ways. Different governments wrote proposals for refugee assistance through which their own developmental programs could evolve. This assistance became two-fold. On one hand to provide and assist the country's technical needs, and on the other to provide aid to the refugees. For example, if in an area where refugees settled, water was scarce, this assistance would be provided for both refugees and the local community. This account, however, could not keep up with the rising expansion of refugees and the programs have not reached most of the one and a half million refugees. Since its establishment, 900 students had been helped to study in secondary school through

these scholarships. In vocational training only 125 had benefited from the fund and 27 students received Higher Education Scholarships by the end of 1968.[31] The funds are not sufficient and the UNHCFR continuously urges governments and non-governmental agencies to participate in this contribution.

Secondary educational needs have increased and the ear-marked funds leave the UNHCFR with little flexibility to meet minimal needs. The cost of building secondary schools for refugees was seen as costly, because it meant that the UNHCFR would have to fund expenses until the involved governments were ready to take them over. Since the UNHCFR and other agencies integrated their efforts to assist refugees, most governments felt that refugee programs should be assisted through host countries' overall national projects with priorities rendered to education. This issue became critical to secondary education because each agency could only provide limited technical cooperation within its sphere. The host countries felt that they could not jeopardize their own developmental projects to assist refugee educational needs.

The Danes and the other Scandinavian countries contributed $688,000 in 1969 to the education account of the High Commissioner to finance four streams of secondary classroom and other facilities in four secondary schools in Uganda where the need was most urgent.

There was an understanding that with this provision of classroom facilities refugees would have unlimited access, equal to that of Ugandan citizens, to all secondary schools. This meant that among 100,000 Ugandans competing each year for the 12,000 secondary school places refugees can compete on an equal basis.[32]

The only data available indicates that in one district 80 refugees enrolled in the high schools. No other schools have been built for refugees by the UNHCFR except for construction of an Agricultural Training Center in Zambia where fifty refugee families have been accommodated, all from Angola, along with fifty Zambian families. Opportunities for technical and vocational training by the UNHCFR and other agencies were being negotiated in 1969.

The objective of creating educational opportunities for South African refugee students developed an urgency from the expectation that majority rule in South Africa is imminent and trained personnel will be desperately needed. Many governments generously responded to this need. However, the education provided only meets individual needs and not the needs of refugee communities.

Summary and Conclusion

The host countries, the OAU and the UNHCFR have been faced with the problems of refugees for almost two decades. Attempts by these parties show that there is a

significant concern to reach some solutions to this complex situation. Joint efforts have been organized but have failed because of the many issues that arise when solutions are attempted.

The governments studied show lack of a comprehensive plan in the areas of identifying refugees, providing education and employment opportunities. Each country resolved the problems according to its objectives, and has attempted to use the UNHCFR offices as needed.

Endnotes--Chapter IV

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[21]Ibid., p. 1150.

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[27]Economic and Social Council, "Emergency Assistance for South African Student Refugees," Report of the Secretary General (1977), p. 24.

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CHAPTER V

KURASINI INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE FOR REFUGEES (KIC): A CASE STUDY

This chapter is designed to investigate a secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, built for Southern African refugees. Whereas the previous chapter was a general review of the host government policies and educational programs, this chapter deals specifically with the Kurasini secondary school for refugees. This school is given a special treatment here because it was designed to meet the requirements refugees needed in terms of skills to obtain higher education.

The chapter is in two sections. The first outlines briefly the historical development and the functions of the school. The second section is a brief statement concerning its organization, administration and the problems of this institution. The data is analyzed through participation observer methods.

History and Functions

The concept of this secondary school for refugees grew out of the lack of qualified students with secondary school diplomas to qualify for entrance into higher educa-

tion institutions. The international agencies regarded granting of scholarships as a principal form of assistance to refugees. These scholarships have been made available to refugees by individual donors, by church organizations, by student groups, by the United Nations, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), and the African-American Institute (AAI).

Competent students were sought by each agency in an attempt to alleviate the educational problems of refugees and have a sphere of influence in its leadership upon achieving independence.

Refugees at the beginning of the exodus from South Africa were viewed by scholarship donors as scholarship recipients who will obtain education and return to their countries as influential individuals in governments. In order to ensure this influence different countries and agencies used different means to obtain candidates. For example, the USSR sent airplanes to fly refugees from host countries to Lumumba University in Moscow, while the AAI (supported by grants from the American government) opened offices in those countries to recruit potential students who would be able to handle the academic curriculum of American universities. The United Nations, church organizations and various governments sent refugees to independent African countries, the Middle East, Europe, Asia and North America. These students attended colleges, universities, secondary schools, techni-

cal colleges and special training programs. Statistics are not available to show how many scholarships have been awarded or how many students are currently in school.

These scholarships were awarded primarily for academic study. However very few scholarships have been awarded to train needed technical specialists. Because of the inferior educational systems in colonial and apartheid regimes it became apparent that most students did not qualify for university entrance. The AAI and other agencies began to explore ways of providing secondary education for refugees in Africa. The AAI was prepared to finance the secondary education of refugees in Africa but ran into many problems. The African governments were at this juncture struggling to raise the level of education within their own countries, and could not accommodate refugees freely at the expense of their own nationals. Even when places were secured for refugees, immigration clearance became a problem. The other problem was that among the refugees there were men and women of ages from eighteen to twenty-five, and these students could not easily fit into a classroom of boys and girls in their teens.

The administrators of the AAI decided to offer English tutorial lessons to meet the refugees' educational deficiencies. They thus rented a house and converted it into a school. The three bedrooms were converted into classrooms and the lounge into a library. One English

teacher was invited from the United States and refugees were admitted into different classes. This tutorial program inspired most refugees who were otherwise loiterers in the city streets. This program was also an avenue to obtain scholarships to United States universities. As more refugees registered in this school house, it became apparent that most refugees wanted to study more subjects than just English. By the end of the first year, the teacher found himself, without really planning, teaching a remarkable range of courses to a large number of refugees. More Peace Corps Volunteers were brought in to aid the staff. As days went by, as many as two hundred refugees crowded the school house.

> As educational institutions go, it was not much of a school, it did not have much structure, its teachers were poorly qualified, its curriculum badly unbalanced but it had one of the most enthusiastic student bodies ever assembled.[1]

In 1963, another house was rented and a new group of Peace Corps Volunteers recruited in the US arrived as teachers. It was at this juncture that a systematic study of the refugee students was first undertaken to determine the grade level of each individual. An English test was administered and the schools' objectives were defined.

As more and more students arrived from Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia and South Africa, the school could not register all these individuals. The AAI decided to negotiate with the Tanzanian government for a

secondary school site, to be built ten miles from the capital as a boarding school for refugees. After protracted negotiations the school was constructed. The refugees provided the manpower to build this institution and the United States government provided the technician, building materials and all the necessary equipment. By the end of 1964 the school was opened and one hundred and fifty students were enrolled.[2] Full-year boarding facilities were provided with an allowance of one dollar per week for each participant.

Organization and Administration

The school principal and the vice principal were Americans who had just arrived in Tanzania. The school had to comply with the Tanzanian government secondary school policy for registration and accreditation. The school had to follow the General Certificate of Education under the British system. The staff was composed of American and one Canadian Peace Corps Volunteers. Some of the teachers had never taught before and both they and the refugee participants were new to the Cambridge syllabus. The school was made up of seventeen teachers and was under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The principals changed hands twice during a period of four years. The volunteers were also not stable; some stayed one year, others no longer than two years. This change of staff made students uncomfortable because of the different teaching styles of different teachers.

Admission policy. The admission process of the school was not well defined and varied considerably. Different processes were used for different refugees. Some refugees were interviewed and then took a qualifying test, others were permitted to enter merely by producing a letter from their liberation movement. The school was asked to admit fifty Zanzibarian students who had not been afforded placement in secondary education on the island and these students were admitted without interviews. They were tested only for placement in appropriate grades. The Tanzanian government required that these students be endorsed by a liberation movement recognized by the OAU[3] to enter the school. The school honored this clause. Members of the student body spoke Portugese, Arabic, English, Afrikaans and Kiswahili as their first language. Few of the staff spoke or understood these languages and communication was very difficult. Most of the students spent more than two years in each grade because they were encountering English for the first time. There were no tutorial facilities for the students. Most of the refugees joined the school with no goal for an academic career.

Student body and curriculum. The students at Kurasini International College came from the five different countries of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania and South Africa and ranged from 13 to 24 years of age. The school was a

four year program and students had to sit for a minimum of five subjects to qualify with a school leaving certificate. The subjects studied were history, English grammar, geography, mathematics, English literature, Kiswahili, physiology, biology and general science courses. At the end of four years students took a three day long examination and were expected to pass with 45 percent to obtain class position. English had to be passed to receive a diploma. The Cambridge General Certificate of Education examinations were written and corrected in England and it took about two months before the students found out the results. The student body was also very unstable. Some of the liberation movements would secure scholarships for students already studying at Kurasini to schools in other countries and would take them out of the school without timely notification to school officials. The school could admit up to two hundred and fifty students but it never maintained this capacity--there were always about sixty vacant places. The administrators had to ensure the reputation of the school to keep its progress with the other secondary schools in Tanzania. The quality of education at this institution became an important issue for its accreditation as a high school. In 1967, the first group sat for their General Certificates of Education and of the fourteen students, four obtained first class, six obtained second class, three obtained third class and one student failed.

Geography, Economy and Peoples of South Africa

The Republic of South Africa (Azania) is located at the southern end of the continent of Africa. It extends over 1,221,037 square kilometers. It is bordered on the northeast by the People's Republic of Mozambique, on the north by Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the Republic of Botswana, and on the northwest by Namibia. It has 3,000 kilometers of shorelines, and it is open to both the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans. The Republic is divided into four provinces, namely Cape Province, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal.

The country is shaped by a vast ancient plateau, lower in the center near the Kalahari basin and very high at the edges. There is high broken terrain in the eastern part of the country. The altitude of the Drakersberg mountain range is above 3,000 meters and the highest point is Thabena mountain at 3,482 meters. In the south the folds of the Cape Mountains stretch away in circular bands rising above 2,000 meters in height. These mountains join the inland plateau. The interior highlands are drained by the Limpopor and the Orange rivers.

South Africa has a tropical climate varied by altitude and orientation to the waterbearing winds. The south tip of the country enjoys a Mediterranean climate, with dry summers and wet winters. The tropical regions have dry winters and wet summer seasons. The east coastal area re-


Rhodesia
Namibia
Republic of
Botswana
Mozambique
Transvaal
Republic of South Africa
Swaziland
Orange Free State
Natal
Lesotho
Cape Province

ceives an average of 800 to 1,200 millimeters annually while the western regions are desert-like with 50-80 millimeters of annual rainfall.

The average winter temperature in the Cape is 12.2°C while the southeast coast has 16.3°C. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State is 11°C and 10°C, respectively. The average summer temperature is 24°C in the Cape, 22.5°C in the southeast and 23.7°C in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

Natural vegetation consists of seasonal grasses in the east, and Mediterranean vegetation such as olive trees in the south. Water is the major problem in the country. Agriculture depends largely on irrigation.

The population of South Africa is more than 25 million. There are 21,217,000 Africans, 3,750,000 Europeans and 670,000 Asians.

South Africa provides twenty percent of the continent's total industrial and agricultural production.

Agriculture remains the primary activity. There are two distinct sectors: Europeans and Africans. The Europeans hold eighty percent of the land--about 92.5 million hectares in the most fertile areas. The African farmers are concentrated on 13.5 million hectares or twelve percent of the land, in areas with low rainfall or heavily eroded soil with reduced fertility due to over-planting. About 4.5 million Africans draw their subsistence and their principal income from the land. Farming is mainly for consumption and

primitive techniques which produce only low yields are used.

Basic industries exist in South Africa, steel being the most important. The metal-working industry is large and diversified, with heavy industrial equipment including railway tracks and ship building, to household utensils. There are some of the world's largest automobile assembly plants such as Ford and General Motors.

The chief exports of South Africa are mining products: diamonds, gold, copper, uranium and thorium concentrates, asbestos, pig iron and iron alloys. Britain, the United States, Japan, Canada and Western Europe are leading trade partners of South Africa. Britain and the United States buy the entire uranium production--and South Africa is the world's third largest producer. South Africa produces half of the world's platinum. It is also the world's third producer of asbestos, second largest producer of vanadium after the United States, second largest producer of chrome (after the USSR), and has the world's largest reserves of manganese.

The annual energy consumption amounts to 36,500 million kilowatts. The major source is coal which South Africa has in abundance. The annual production is 59 million tons, which is 90 percent of the continent's supply.

Bantu Education Structure

Previous to and during World War II South Africa's education structure was not totally segregated. The aim of education was to assist the Africans to adjust to the Western environment. The end of World War II marked the beginnings of separate development of the races in South Africa.

Basic Bantu Education in South Africa has been organized in three levels: the primary level, the secondary level, and the university. Each of these levels is intended to prepare the student for the next level. There are also teacher training colleges which prepare students as teachers. Preschools also exist, primarily in cities and towns.

Primary education. The primary education cycle takes eight years, sub A to standard six. The age of admission varies from six to ten years. Those who complete the cycle take a final national examination and are awarded a certificate. Selection for secondary school is based not upon the performance on this examination but upon the forty percent the government permits to go through.

Secondary education. There are two categories of secondary schools in the Republic of South Africa: general secondary school and technical schools. General secondary school offers basically academic courses. The first three years are known as the junior high school and those who complete three

years of this course take national examinations and are awarded a certificate called the Junior Certificate of Education. This course takes three years. Matriculation with a high school certificate takes another two years and those who complete this cycle qualify to enter the university.

The technical schools are divided into two categories. About fifty-five percent of the tuition time is devoted to technical courses, and forty-five percent to relevant academic subjects.

University education. There are five African universities in the Republic divided into ethnic groups of Xhosa, Sesotho, Zulu, Coloureds (people of mixed blood) and a medical school. These universities have faculties as follows: the Arts, Social Sciences and Librarianship; Natural Sciences and Pharmacy; Education; Commerce, Economics and Administration; Law, Divinity; Agriculture and Surveying. In all these colleges, teacher-in-service one year courses are offered.

Administration of education. The Minister of Bantu Education heads the administration of education. Under the Minister of Education, there is the Secretary and Deputy Secretary. There is also the Chief of Planning and Control and the Personnel Manager. Altogether there are 366 members on the staff; all are white except for three Bantu inspectors.

Advisory board for Bantu Education. All African board mem-

bers are appointed by the Minister of Education. The chairman of the board is designated by the Minister. The function of the board is to revise the syllabus and introduce new subjects. This board also deals with the interests of various language groups.

Formation of Bantu Education

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 began the devaluation of African education standards under the aegis of the Bantu Affairs Department. This office was given the powers to design all the African peoples' curricula and implement it without their input. The Act marked the end of equitable education standards previously centralized under the Ministry of Education and administered by the central government. African education was deliberately fashioned to prevent Africans from obtaining skills needed for the social and economic growth of the country beyond certain forms of labor.

The Ministery of Bantu Affairs, in introducing the bill, said:

> Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live. . . . Good racial relations cannot exist when education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself. . . . Native Education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the state. . . . Racial relations cannot improve if the result of native education is the creation of frustrated people.[1]

The introductory section of this Act stated that Bantu Educa-

tion should be regulated so that the previous relations between provinces and schools be removed, to ensure control and policy directly under the state.

Since 1953, South African students have become increasingly aware of the inequities of the Act as it is designed to impose severe restrictions of opportunities for their self development. A publication issued by UNESCO pointed out that:

> In 1974/75, the government expenditure on African education was less than one fourth of the expenditure on white education, though the Africans constitute the majority of the population. The pupil teacher ratio in African schools was 54:1 in 1975 as against 15:1 in white schools. The poorer section of the community, the Africans, were obliged to pay fees, uniforms and purchase textbooks, while education was entirely free for the whites.[2]

With the introduction of this bill, the government required that in the African secondary schools, subjects should be taught using the vernacular as the medium of instruction at the primary level, with English and Afrikaans as the official languages and taken as different subjects. No provision was made for the training of the teachers to learn technical words in different African languages. This handicapped the conceptualization of science subjects greatly. This training further underdeveloped the continuum of the educational process at the secondary level where all subjects had to be taught in Afrikaans and English on a 50-50 basis. The African teachers and students protested this move both vocally and actively to no avail. In some

schools teachers continued to use more English as the medium of instruction. The government enforced its measure by making Afrikaans the major requirement for a junior and high school certification. This meant that the students in these grades must pass Afrikaans with a very high percentage to graduate from high school.

Since the final examinations are centrally corrected, only thirty-five percent of the candidates are supposed to pass; obtaining high marks does not guarantee a pass. Certification is not issued as a reward for ability and competence. In 1974, the Southern Transvaal region of the Department of Bantu Education enforced the policy of teaching mathematics, geography and history in Afrikaans. This order was evoked at Phefeni secondary school and resulted in the June, 1976 Resistance.[3] The government enforcement of this law led to the closure of many secondary schools during this uprising. The student leaders were sent to jail and students who managed to flee form the majority of the South African refugee population of 8,000.[4]

Prior to 1948, the British colonial administration in South Africa had administered the education system with the objective of Westernizing African society. Though color-bar existed during their rule, it was still possible for Africans to participate in the institutions of higher education. The aim of education during this era was to assist Africans in adjusting to Western ways of life and to

play a role in the Christianizing of Africans. This system led Africans to believe that if they obtained the necessary education, they could then fully participate in the social, economic and political spheres of the South African society.

The major problem of this system was that there was little consideration paid to relating the curricula to the background and culture of the African peoples. But the Africans' aspiration and their belief that the system would lead to political and social equality led the Afrikaaners (people of Dutch descent who settled South Africa in 1652), to resent this process. On winning the election in 1948, the Afrikaaner administration raised the question of whether to continue the process of educational integration or to formulate a new education system for the Africans.

The English had defeated the Afrikaaners during the Anglo-Boer War of 1898 to 1902. This defeat fostered new thinking among these settlers and promoted the Broeder-bond (brotherhood) concept which resulted in the formulation of separate development of races. Their resentment of the British and the Africans promoted a sense of nationalism among them. In 1949, a commission under Dr. W.W. Eiselen was formed to look into the means and ways by which the new Afrikaaner Administration could reach a conclusion about the education of the Africans. This commission adopted the following as guidelines in their deliberations:

a. The formulation of the principles and aims of education for the Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.

b. The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational education system for Natives and the training of Native teachers, should be modified in respect to the content and form of syllabuses; in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.

c. The organization and administration of the various branches of education.

d. The basis on which such education should be financed.

e. Such other aspects of Native Education as may be related to the preceding.[5]

The commission acknowledged that Africans who had given evidence showed "an extreme aversion to any education specially adapted for the Bantu."[6] The Commission however recommended that education practice

> . . . must recognize that it has to deal with a Bantu child, that is, a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of Bantu language, and imbued with values, interest and behavior patterns learnt at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education. . . .[7]

This consideration meant that the learning experiences of the Bantu child must be an integral part of a carefully planned system of socioeconomic development for the African people. "It emphasized the functional value of the school as an institution for the transmission and development of Bantu cultural heritage."[8] This Commission further stated that:

> . . . education, as one of a number of social services, should be integrated organically with all other state efforts designed to raise the level of Bantu life. In order to secure efficient coordination of planning, Bantu education should be removed from provincial control and be administered by the department of Bantu education.
>
> Bantu communities should gradually take over local control from religious bodies, but such transfer of control should not take place until the Bantu local governing bodies achieved the three-fold test of cash, competence and consent.[9]

This report led to the formulation of Act NO47 of 1953, known as the Bantu Education Act. This act has been amended four times during the last twenty years, and is extensively outlined below to show its broad objectives.

Administration and control of education.

a. Transfer of control. The acts provided for the transfer of the control of Bantu Education (including teacher training but excluding higher education) from Provincial Administration to the central government.

b. Types of schools. Three types of schools were created. First, there would be Bantu community schools, established or maintained by Bantu authorities or tribes or

communities, and in approved cases subsidized by the state.

Other state-aided schools (including mission schools) were provided for. It was laid down that before granting aid the Minister must consider whether the existence of such schools would preclude or retard the establishment of a community or a government school.

Thirdly, all existing provincial schools would become government schools, and further government schools might be established.

c. Illegal to conduct unregistered schools. It was made illegal for anyone to establish, conduct, or maintain a Bantu school unless this had been registered or exempted from registration. Registration was to be in the discretion of the Minister, who had the power to impose conditions on individual schools. Registration might be cancelled if stipulated conditions were not complied with or if, after an inquiry by the Bantu Affairs Commission, the Minister was satisfied that the existence of the school concerned was not in the interest of the Bantu people.

d. School boards and committees. The Minister was empowered with the establishment of regional or local boards, committees or other bodies to which he entrusted the control and management of one or more government or community schools. Any school board or committee might be disestablished if, after an inquiry had been held, the Minister deemed this to be expedient.

e. Teachers. Teachers in community or state-aided schools would fall under the control of the person or body vested with control of the school concerned.

f. Regulations. The Minister was given extremely wide powers to make regulations governing the control of schools, conditions of service of teachers, syllabuses, medium of instruction, school funds, and many other matters.

With this act's evolution a Division of Bantu Education was set up and it became a separate department in 1958 as a responsible Department of State for African learning experiences.

g. Primary and secondary schools. Most of the schools were missionary schools within the Republic. In August of 1954, the Secretary of Native Affairs sent letters to all missionaries advising them of the procedures to follow within the new regulations: (1) to rent or sell schools and buildings to the Department of Bantu Education; (2) to rent or sell schools while retaining the hostels; and (3) to close teacher training schools, and to partly conduct primary or secondary schools. By April 1955 all schools had to be registered with the Department and failure to comply resulted in six months or R 100 fines as per Government Notice #2567 of December, 1954.

The Government provided subsidies for some schools but such subsidies were later terminated. The Department hired or leased the schools from missionaries but terminated

this act by 1961. Some schools closed because the Department refused them registration. This left many students without schools.

The Bantu Education Department allowed missionary schools to follow the new curriculum but continue their religious curricula syllabi. Those missionary schools located in white areas were also closed. The missionary school administrators who elected to retain their schools could do so, but the certificates offered by them were not recognized by the government. Teacher training services, which were largely run by missionaries, were transferred to the Bantu Education Department of training. Those missionary schools who elected to keep their schools could later, at the discretion of the Education Minister, be transferred to Bantu community organizations. It was within the discretion of the department to hire all teachers from these private missionary schools. After their closure, most teachers left teaching for business and administrative occupations.

The Department of Education also transferred technical and vocational education through the introduction of the Vocational Education Act of 1955. This Act required that complete control by the state of vocational colleges be introduced. All part-time classes for Africans were stopped and the Indian Technical Colleges were barred from accepting African students. There were three schools of

technical and vocational education that catered to Africans: the Vlakfontein Industrial School near Pretoria, the Vocational Training Center in Dube and the Jan Hofueyer School of Social Work which the Department of Bantu Education took control over by 1960.

In 1953, the government appointed yet another commission known as the Holloway Commission whose purpose was to "investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at universities."[10] The Commission recommended that mainly for financial reasons new universities for non-whites should not be established. It further stated that the University of Durban and Fort Hare be the centers for African undergraduates and graduate students and that other institutions could enroll students if they so desired. Despite this report's recommendations a separate university bill was drafted and introduced in Parliament in 1957. Two African colleges were built, one in Ngoye Zululand and one at Turfloop near Pietersburg.

The Extension of University Act No. 45 of 1959 was then introduced which provided for the establishment of these universities. Each university would have an appointed white Council and (nonwhite) Advisory Council, a white Senate and nonwhite Advisory Senate. The Minister was to determine the establishment of these universities as white people under this act were prohibited from attending these

colleges. The Minister was empowered to decide which ethnic group could be admitted to which university. The examinations, degrees, diplomas and certificates would be awarded by the University of South Africa. African enrollment at the two medical schools was left to the Minister's approval. Students from outside the medical school's region had to obtain special ministerial approval for entrance particularly if they did not belong to the ethnic group of that area.

The universities that were multi-racial prior to the introduction of Bantu Education were increasingly segregated through the introduction of the Transfer Act of 1959. The University of Fort Hare with 489 students in 1959, had 38 percent of its population from the Xhosa ethnic group, 34 percent from other African ethnic groups, 14 percent of Indian origin and 14 percent from the coloured population. It was ruled that from January 1, 1960, no white person shall be allowed to attend the college as a student, and that Coloureds and Indians not registered at this time should not be permitted to attend this college without permission from the Minister. This institution was from 1959 on to cater only to Xhosa students. The colleges' control and administration was placed directly under the Minister of Bantu Education. Its curricula and library materials were designed and approved by it. Its funds came directly from the government.

The government, after assessing the recommendations

of the Commission, required it to formulate the "principles and aims of education for the Natives as an independent race. . . ."[11] The Bantu Education Department was urged to develop an education policy whose aims were to develop the socioeconomic plan designed and aimed at the needs of the Africans. This policy was to ensure that planned governmental programs of the ruling Nationalist Party excluded the Africans.

This policy began to establish the separation of races through education. It became clear that educational facilities for the Africans would be inferior. Africans began to feel that economic and political rights at central governmental levels would not be available equally to all citizens. The government introduced an Areas Act which excluded the majority of the Africans from larger sections of the land. Reserves were established and amounted to 13 percent of the total land. At this time half the African population that resided in the cities had little or no contact with the "homelands."

This policy was further manifested by the introduction of "pass laws" and police raids. Many African educators felt that the policy of separate development was an oppressive one, but their voices served no practical purpose since the laws and regulations governing their lives were determined by Parliament in Cape Town and the administrators in Pretoria, the capital. It became clear that the

commission envisaged education as an instrument for isolating the Africans from the rest of the white society. The schools' curricula began to redirect the objectives of societal integration and served as effective agents in the process of separate development. Dr. J.P. Van Bruwer wrote in support of the Bantu Education aims:

> We have embarked in South Africa upon the road of ultimate separate autonomous peoples as political entities of state. To this end we have been building on the foundations of Bantu genius itself by recognizing indigenous institutions and also injecting them with the serum of our own systems. The construction of this road begs for a colossal intellectual task to be accomplished unless we want history one day to accuse us of playing conjuring tricks with the destiny of coming generations, whether they be White or Bantu. It may be true that circumstances of history have seized us by the throat in regard to the broad pattern of political progress for subordinate peoples. But if history herself takes up arms against one, resistance is in vain.[12]

The Department of Bantu Education stated that its task was, by means of the school and the products of the school, to lead the various African ethnic groups to independence and self-reliance. "It has been borne in mind that the development of the Bantu and their homeland must be firmly rooted in their own cultural institutions and customs with due regard to their right to full self-determination."[13] The policy makers ignored the "evolving conditions of life" of Africans who had lived in the Western environment and who had undergone a curriculum that was tailored to the needs of an industrialized Western country. The

Africans were now charged to think of their country as undeveloped and design educational objectives similar to those of the Africans north of the Zambezi River.

Implication of Bantu Education

The implication of the Act was studied by many educators. The studies show that there is a serious shortage of secondary schools resulting from the closure of many missionary schools. A large percentage of children of school-going age are not attending primary schools. Furthermore, the shortage of qualified teachers is very high, primarily because white teachers were no longer permitted to teach in African Reserves areas. In spite of the measures taken up by the government to produce qualified African teachers to fill this gap, studies show that by 1968 only 1.27% of African teachers had a university degree plus professional qualifications; some 18.77% had no professional training at all, but had academic qualifications ranging from seven years of schooling to twelve; 41.71% of the teachers at primary level had six years of educational training. Alternative training facilities for upgrading of teachers' skills were closed. Many teachers have resorted to correspondence classes for courses they need, but this method demands high motivation and money. The hiatus of training resulted in the termination of academic careers of a number of Africans during the first fourteen years

of Bantu Education.

The government incurred large expenditures during this period of educational change. It had to provide replacements for schools in white areas, erect new schools, colleges and universities. In undertaking this task the government had to cut the funds available for normal services such as books, some school equipment and totally discontinued the feeding scheme program. Children who relied on the school nutrition were left without any compensation. This resulted in a serious deterioration in the percentage of matriculation passes (equivalent of high school graduates).

The financing of Bantu Education became another retarding factor. Parents and school board committees appointed by the Department of Bantu Education were required to contribute in substantial ways, and other expedients to the financing of the African children.

The Department provided some schools with initial furniture but most schools were required to use their own money. To encourage enrollment, the government provided some schools at the primary level with readers in African languages used, English and Afrikaans. Teachers were also provided with teacher handbooks. But all other needed textbooks and writing materials were bought by parents. Taxation obtained from the Africans is not a guarantee for free education. Schools are required to find money for equipment

for handicrafts, for science and for vocational schools. The maintenance of the school is undertaken by the students by cleaning the buildings and grounds.

In 1955 the government introduced a double sessions schedule in the lower primary schools. Teachers were required to teach two sets of pupils per day: one session in the morning for four hours and another in the afternoon for the same number of hours. The student-teacher ratio in 1955 was 46:1, 54.3 in 1960, 56.0 in 1965, 58.1 in 1966 and 58.1 in 1974. This meant that each teacher had to work with these two sets of people to provide them with necessary prescribed curricula. The drop-out rate since the introduction of Bantu Education has increased at the lower primary level but significantly dropped in the higher primary and secondary levels, as Table 1 indicates. Looking at Table 2, one sees clearly that the drop-out rate in post primary school is getting increasingly high.

When one considers this drop-out rate, it must be borne in mind that under Bantu Education each year nearly 3,000 pupils who pass Junior Certificate are drawn off to teacher training and many girls at this stage enter the nursing profession. Of those who enter Form IV and Form V, the government will only graduate 40 percent for higher education. The remaining 60 percent, regardless of whether they pass or fail, are dropped and are unable to matriculate with a high school diploma. This measure was taken to main-

TABLE 1

DROP-OUT RATE

Pupils Entering	Percentage Reaching				
Sub Std. A	STD II	STD VI	FORM I	FORM III	FORM V
100 (1949)	? ?	14.90 (1956)	7.22 (1957)	3.13 (1959)	0.388 (1961)
100 (1955)	57.90 (1958)	23.56 (1962)	8.47 (1963)	4.29 (1965)	0.773 (1974)
100 (1957)	55.28 (1960)	23.90 (1964)	8.66 (1965)	5.01 (1967)	
100 (1959)	55.83 (1962)	25.21 (1966)	9.78 (1967)		

TABLE 2

DROP-OUT RATE IN POST PRIMARY SCHOOL

Pupils Entering	Percentage Reaching High School Matriculation	
FORM I	FORM III	FORM V
100 (1955)	53.98 (1957)	5.41 (1959)
100 (1959)	51.06 (1961)	5.21 (1963)
100 (1963)	50.62 (1965)	8.66 (1974)

tain a low African population academic achievement. The study done by the Institute of Race Relations indicated that 42.5% of the students who enter Sub-Standard I are likely to reach Standard II and one-quarter of this group reaches Standard VI and only one-tenth of this group proceeds to secondary school.

The drop-out rate at the primary school will continue because the double session methodology has not been changed. The teachers are seriously overworked and pupils receive inadequate individual attention. According to Muriel Horell, on examining the total population of all the races, the number of Africans who reach Form V is significant. Of 100,000 in the population of this country, 866 whites, 352 Indians, 74 Coloureds (people of mixed blood), and only 13 Africans do reach Form V.[14]

Another abnormal factor in this system is that in the quality of education in both the primary and secondary schools a decline was observed. In an article written by A.W. Sneesby in 1961, he stated that:

> For many years past there has been a steady decline in the standard of English in the Bantu schools. This decline is largely due to the fact that whereas years ago nearly all staff of the teacher training colleges were English-speaking Europeans, today practically all junior and secondary . . . schools are staffed almost entirely by Africans. It is also frequently the case that more than half of the existing European staffs in secondary schools are Afrikaans-speaking. A vicious circle has been set up. In secondary school and in the training school the student's opportunities of learning to use English correctly and fluently as a medium of com-

> munication are very much fewer than they were years ago. The faults he acquires are passed on to his pupils who, if they become teachers themselves, pass them on to their pupils in turn.[15]

It was further observed that the teaching approaches in teaching English stressed oral work and emphasized speech with little understanding of the basic guides of the language.

English is the major language spoken in South Africa. If the refugees are ill-equipped in this language it is likely that they will find it difficult to compete with host country nationals. One university instructor at the University of Lesotho stated that the South African students are at least a year behind most of the BaSotho students entering the first year in most subjects.[16] There have been far too few teachers who are qualified to teach in secondary schools, in particular to teach English, Afrikaans, science and mathematics. Patterns of African English, non-standard English, have evolved and will continue to be perpetuated.

Summary and Conclusions

There are a number of significant deficiencies that undermine student progress under the Bantu Education system.

a. English is taught by improperly trained non-English speakers. Most teachers do not have the necessary University degrees for the task.

b. Inadequate preparation of students at the primary school level by overloaded, ill-equipped teachers, and shortages of books and audio-visual materials, retard these students even further.

This chapter has attempted to analyze the formulation of Bantu Education and to elicit the problems that have developed since its inception.

Those responsible for planning this educational system aimed at controlling economic and political power by implementing an education system whose quality is very low compared to those of the white race. The findings of this study indicate that the aims and objectives of Bantu Education are to underdevelop the skills of the majority of the country's population and has come to the following conclusions:

a. That Bantu Education has not improved the quality of the teachers at the primary and secondary levels.

b. The standard of English of the Bantu Education pupils has significantly declined and thus contributed to the student drop-out rate.

c. The teacher-pupil ratio has more than doubled since its implementation.

d. The curriculum of Bantu Education, by using three different languages during the first fourteen years of the children's life, under-

mines students' opportunity for academic progress.

Bantu Education needs to be changed. It seems that the area where change is most likely is within the African refugee host states. Here, a new curriculum could be designed that would transmit relevant skills that refugee students lack; provide knowledge, values and attitudes which would reflect the society Africans desire to establish, values which include critical thinking, self-reliance, initiative and self-actualization.

Endnotes--Chapter II

[1]Muriel Horrell, African Education: Some Origins and Development until 1968, p. 65.

[2]Bantu Education to 1968 (Johannesburg: The South African Institute of Race Relation, 1964), p. 103.

[3]United Nations General Assembly, Thirty-second session, "Report of the Economic and Social Council" (November 1977), p. 31.

[4]Ibid., p. 33.

[5]Horrell, pp. 8-9.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 54.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Bantu Education to 1968, p. 65.

[10]Ibid., p. 15.

[11]Horrell, p. 56.

[12]Ibid., p. 91.

[13]Davis R. Hunt Jr., "Bantu Education and Political Development" (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 61.

[14]Horrell, p. 5.

[15]"The Vernacular in Bantu Education in the Union of South Africa," Overseas Education (Witwatersrand Press), Vol. 33, no. 2 (1961), p. 61.

[16]Ibid.

C H A P T E R I I I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NATIONALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Although most of Africa is now independent, the three countries ruled by the minority white settlers in Southern Africa remain under the control of European descendants. The present regimes of Namibia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa differ from each other in many ways, but they are alike in their continued resistance to the pressures of black African nationalism. African liberation movements in these countries are either banned or severely restricted in their activities. Since 1960, African political opposition has largely become opposition in exile. Gaborone, Lusaka, Maputo, Dar-es-Salaam and Luanda are the chief centers of exile political activity, but exile party offices are also found in London, New York, Nairobi, Algiers and a few other cities.[1]

The existence of common targets of opposition within each nation has not, however, produced common efforts in opposition. For each of the three Southern African countries considered, there are at least two major liberation movements in exile and some splinter and newly formed groups of

a more ephemeral character. The major parties by country and the date of formation are listed below.

1. Namibia (South West Africa)

   South West National Union (SWANU), 1959

   South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), 1960

2. South Africa (Azania)

   African National Union (ANC), 1912

   Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), 1959

3. Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

   Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), 1962

   Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), 1963

Formation of Nationalism

The Organization of African Unity has made many efforts to forge common-front organizations or to facilitate party mergers; the liberation exile movements continue their separate existences, pursue divergent policies and receive aid from different sources. The independent African states are unable to agree on common policies of recognition. A liberation movement receiving generous support from one country may be banned in another. A change of government in an independent African state may mean a change in the exile's liberation movement status in that country. Moreover, the African states have expressed disenchantment with the unfulfilled promises and hollow boasts of some exile leaders.

The Southern African liberation movements of

Zimbabwe and Namibia have made progress towards their stated goals of political revolution, while those of South Africa have not yet attempted to penetrate into South Africa. The government of South Africa has enhanced its powers of resistance while the exile movements, burdened with mounting frustrations, have become increasingly fragmented and to some extent have turned their destructive energies in upon themselves.

The ZANU liberation movement has recently made noticeable effects on the Rhodesia minority regime as they proceed to occupy much of the land inside Rhodesia. They have been for the last three years operating from Mozambique, while the ZAPU operation from Zambia has also had some impact. These liberation movements attempted to form a Patriotic Front (joining their forces to fight the white settler regime), but have had little impact as a joint force.

With the independence of Angola in 1974, SWAPO has had a significant impact by fighting from both Angola and Zambia. In April of 1978, this liberation movement agreed at the encouragement of the Western countries to cease fire and hold elections which would be supervised by the United Nations, since Namibia is legally an international territory and not a colony of South Africa. The South African government agreed to honor the elections but when Prime Minister Vorster abdicated his position in October 1978, the new Prime Minister Botha postponed the agreements. There is in-

tensive guerilla fighting in Namibia at the present time. The political environment in Southern Africa, since the independence of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, has opened opportunities for the other exile liberation movements to penetrate into the settler regimes. The South African liberation movements ANC and PAC have not taken advantage of liberated Botswana and Mozambique to effect their struggle.

Unlike the British, the French and Belgian colonies, the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia are determined to maintain their positions on the African continent, and have developed political and military systems designed to safeguard and perpetuate their minority rule. The liberation movements of these countries at home and in-exile are therefore confronted not only with the great physical power of these regimes but with psychological burdens and frustrations resulting from long-term political subordination. Let us have a brief look at the historical development of the liberation movements' country by country, starting with Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

Rhodesia. Namibia and Rhodesia have a modern history of both African and European population closely connected with that of South Africa.

The nineteenth century turmoil in South Africa of the Zulu nationalism under Shaka brought about a series of

events that led some of the Zulus to flee into Rhodesia. The discovery of gold and diamonds in Kimberley led the European gold prospectors to follow the Ndebele into Rhodesia where the descendants of the Zulu heir Lobengula signed a concession granting exclusive mining rights to Charles Reid in 1880.[2] Cecil John Rhodes, who had made a fortune in South Africa, became the prime minister of Cape Colony in 1890 and interpreted the concession even more broadly. He saw the concession as a means of forestalling foreign competition (from, for example, Germany, Portugal and the Dutch descendants of South Africa--the Boers) and as a step to build a British empire known as the Cape to Cairo route. He formed the British South African Company in 1889 to exploit the concession by obtaining a royal charter authorizing it to "acquire by any concession, agreement, grant or treaty, all or any rights, interests, authorities, jurisdiction and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purpose of government and the preservation of public order."[3]

The Ndebele rose against the settlers in 1893 and were joined by the Mashona in 1896-97. Both attempts were suppressed with overwhelming force. In 1922, the European settlers were given the choice of incorporation into South Africa or the status of self-governing under the British crown. By a vote of 8,744 to 5,989, the settlers voted for self-government as a colony, a status which came into effect

in 1923.[4] This repression left its marks on the development of nationalism in Rhodesia for a long time. It was not until 1932 that the Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC) was founded. This party, composed of teachers, clerks and ministers, chose the methods of petitioning and orderly demonstration to express their political grievances.

The mass organization under Charles Mzingeli attempted during 1929-1939 to organize the workers union. This union was called the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (RICU). It was through this Union that political consciousness among the Africans rose. World War II slowed down this progress because many Africans were forced to work outside Rhodesia with the British army. This Union continued to organize until the late '50s under Mzingeli. The ANC revived itself in 1945, and addressed the issues of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, and sought to amend the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and other legislations which ensured white supremacy. Some court cases were enacted by this movement and the British African Voice Association (BAVA) against the government and were won. BAVA was banned in 1952 and the pace of nationalism slowed down. In 1953, the Central African Federation (CAF) of Zambia and Malawi was formed against the wishes of the Africans. The political power of CAF was centered in Salisbury and the Africans of both Zambia and Malawi feared that the racial policies would be extended throughout the Federation. For the Rhodesian

Africans this federation was unacceptable. Mr. James Chikerema and Mr. Dunduzur Chisiza launched the City Youth League (CYL) in 1953. This league set out to challenge fundamental structures of the Rhodesian political system. It attracted rural support by taking popular grievances against the native commissioners. A three-day bus boycott was launched in 1956 successfully. On Occupation Day in 1957, CLY and ANC joined together to form the ANC. Mr. Joshua Nkomo was elected president and Mr. Chikerema vice president. This movement was multi-racial and the members continued to institute legal proceedings against the government. This organization was banned in 1959 by the government which used the riots in Malawi as an excuse to declare a federation-wide state of emergency.[5]

Mr. Nkomo was in Cairo when the banning occurred and for twenty months remained in exile, seeking financial support. All other members of ANC were put under restriction for those years. Mr. Mawema formed the National Democratic Party (NDP) and began to rebuild on the ANC foundations. In 1960 NDP elected Mr. Nkomo president, and he then returned to Rhodesia. This organization was banned in 1961 at its celebration of Tanzania's independence. Ten days later Mr. Nkomo announced the formation of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), but it too was banned in 1962. The main features of ZAPU's short existence inside Rhodesia were:

> . . . a growing conviction among Africans that their struggle would have to involve bloodshed and violence. . . . It became the common view even among 'moderate' Africans that it was impossible to reason with Europeans. It is not their intention to drop power until they can no longer hold on to it. . . . Reluctantly, in many cases, the ZAPU leaders came to the conclusion that bloodshed was inevitable.[6]

When ZAPU was banned Nkomo was in Lusaka; he returned and was put under restriction for three months.

A dispute arose within the leadership over the proper course of action to form a new party or to work underground. Nkomo called for a conference to discuss these issues but some of the members led by Ndabaninge Sithole announced the formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). At the conference Nkomo announced the formation of the People's Caretaker Council (PCC). Both ZANU and PCC were banned in 1964 following violence that flared up between supporters of rival groups. Nkomo was put under restriction as well as the leader of ZANU. All active members of both parties spent many years in restriction. Both movements have since been operating outside. In 1974 both Nkomo and Sithole were released by the Smith Regime which since 1965 had declared itself independent of British rule. Their release followed a meeting between President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Mr. Balthaza Vorster, the president of South Africa.[7]

Mr. Nkomo and other prominent ZAPU leaders, while in prison, were instrumental in the formation of yet another

party, the African National Council (ANC), which was formed in 1971. The objective of this organization was to organize the people against the Smith Regime's constitutional settlement proposal. The chairman of this new movement was Abel Muzorewa. During this period a split occurred with ZAPU, and Mr. Chikerema, the vice president, defected to form the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI).

Upon the release of Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, a conference was called in Lusaka, Zambia, which led to the signing of the Zimbabwe Declaration of Unity on the 7th of September 1974 and the African National Council (ANC) was formed. All these movements joined together and Mr. Muzorewa was made chairman and Mr. Nkomo president. This unity did not, however, dissolve all the problems that divided them in the first place and its life was short-lived. There was a strong conflict between all the presidents of these movements, in political ideology. As negotiations for merging were being discussed, a split occurred in ZANU. Mr. Sithole (its president) and Mr. Mugabe (general secretary) were involved in this split. Mr. Mugabe was chosen to replace Mr. Sithole as president of ZANU. All these divisions have increased the refugee population of Zimbabwe.

When the ANC failed to totally unite, especially militarily to wage a constructive struggle, more problems occurred. Mr. Sithole joined Mr. Muzorewa to work with the Smith Regime and negotiate majority rule, operating in

Salisbury. Mr. Nkomo continued as ZAPU president in exile operating from Zambia. Mr. Chikerema continued to lead FROLIZI, operating from Zambia also. Mr. Mugabe, as president of ZANU, operates from Mozambique.

The Organization of African Unity has to recognize the liberation movements for them to receive aid from the independent countries. So far only ZANU and ZAPU are recognized. In 1975 a Congress was called which met in Zambia from September 27-28. This Congress was another attempt to bring the liberation movements and the new groups together in Lusaka. It was attended by 6,000 delegates from all over the country. Nothing was resolved but division intensified. Some of these delegates declared themselves refugees and stayed in exile with their leadership.

Mr. Muzorewa and Mr. Sithole returned to Salisbury. The rest of the leaders are waging war against the Smith regime. It seems now that the liberation movement that succeeds in overthrowing the Smith regime will determine the destiny of Zimbabwe.

I have attempted to follow the history of Zimbabwe's struggle for majority rule. This history will enable us to understand why there are refugees in Mozambique and Zambia under different organizations.

Namibia (South West Africa). As was stated before, Namibia has close relationships with South Africa. Let us follow

the historical development of Namibia as it affects the people of this country and the refugees in particular. South West Africa was a German colony from 1884 until 1915, when it was occupied by the South African troops. This territory was administered under South African martial law until 1920 when it came under the mandate of the League of Nations with South Africa as the Mandatory Power.[8] Namibia's legal status came into dispute after 1946, when the League was replaced by the United Nations. The UN claims that it is the legal successor to the League, and that South Africa's obligations as Mandatory Power continued under the UN supervision. South Africa, on the other hand, claims that the UN is not the League's legal successor, and that its international obligations with respect to Namibia ended with the League's end in 1946.

Since 1946 South Africa has submitted no reports on its administration of the territory, and has extended most of its legislation of the apartheid laws in this country. For example, the Southwest African Affairs Amendment Act gave white Southwest Africans representation in the Union Parliament in 1955 and African Affairs were taken over by the Native Affairs minister in Pretoria.[9]

In 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia instituted formal legal proceedings against South Africa before the International Court of Justice. They charged South Africa for violating two specific provisions of the League of Nations

1920s but significant political activities point towards the student movement formed in 1952 by students in South Africa. The Southwest African Student Body (SWASB) leadership under Mr. Kerina remains active to date. Some of this body's grievances grew out of impatience of the younger generation with the "talking-shop" nature of the United Nations activities and a rejection of tribal political bases at home. Apart from the stress on educational matters, the Body was to provide a platform through which ways and means could be devised to promote national unity and active political organization at home. The tribal barriers had to be broken down and national consciousness infused in the people on a much broader basis than that of Chieftainship.[11]

In 1954, Mr. Kozonquizi formed the Southwest African Progressive Association (SWAPA) in Namibia to spread the ideas of the student body and bridge the gap between the youth and the elders. He aimed at the destruction of tribalism and promoted the cultural, political and economic advancement of the people of Southwest Africa.[12] Kozonquizi bridged the gap between this movement and the [Herero] elders.

Another movement started in Cape Town, South Africa by Mr. Herman Toiva ja. Toiva united the Ovambo workers in this country. The leader of this movement was ordered out of South Africa by the government when he sent a tape to Mr. Kerina who was at this time in New York. The tape was played at the UN. In 1959, Mr. Sam Nujoma and Jocab

Mandate. One by introducing apartheid into the territory, South Africa had violated its obligation to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory" as stated in Article 2 of the Mandate. The second charge was that South Africa had failed to make annual reports on its administration as required in Article 6 of the Mandate.[10]

In 1962 the court had rejected South Africa's contention that it had no jurisdiction over the Mandate, but voted in 1966 that both Liberia and Ethiopia had no legal right or interest in the subject matter of their claim.

The African states took the issue to the UN General Assembly, demanding the termination of the Mandate. The UN adopted the resolution to terminate the Mandate and a committee was appointed to study the mechanisms involved in the transfer of power from South Africa to the UN. An eleven member council was then formed to administer the territory. Most of the critiques of this issue centered around the fact that the UN did not establish a method that would force South Africa to comply.

To complicate the matters South Africa introduced Bantustan status (reservation for Africans) to the Ovambo people which comprise the largest ethnic group in the territory. South Africa continues to rule the territory and the UN Council has been unable to enter the territory.

African nationalism in Namibia began around the

South Africa. South Africa, unlike the two countries described above, is not a colony or an annexed state. It declared its independence in 1931 and formed a republic in 1961. In 1652, a group of Dutch sailors from Holland wrecked their ship en route to India on the coast of South Africa.

These Dutch descendants today form three million of the total four million white population and are known as the Afrikaaners. The other million are people of English descent. The nationalism of the Afrikaaners developed out of resistance to the British political and economic domination. The conflict between the British settlers began in 1807 and ended in 1948. The major events of this resistance are the Great Trek of 1836-40, the 1880-81 and 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer Wars. During World War II it is estimated that 20,000 Afrikaaner women and children died in British concentration camps.

In 1910, the Afrikaaners and the British formed a union. Every prime minister since 1910 has been an Afrikaaner until 1948. The British controlled the political and economic power during this time. In 1948, Dr. Daniel Malan led the Afrikaaner National Party and won the majority seats in the general elections and this party has not relinquished power since. The Nationalist government declared in its constitution that "the people desire to permit no equality between coloured people and the white inhabitants, either in church or state."[14]

The Nationalist government has produced a stream of

legislation directed at limiting contact between the races to the bare minimum dictated by economic necessity and preventing the emergence of effective African political opposition. (For full details of these acts, see Appendix I provided for your information.) Conflicts between Africans and the Boers date from the time of their arrival. These conflicts are recorded historically as "Kaffir Wars" (or nigger wars); the other word used to describe them is "Bantu Wars." These date from 1779 to 1906 with the suppression of the Bambata rebellion in 1906.

The fear of "black danger" (swaart gevaar) has intensified Afrikaaner nationalism and produced white legislative reaction. Afrikaaner nationalism has also set the example for African nationalism.

> Day by day Africans can examine in minute detail the paraphernalia of nationalism laid out at full length by Afrikaaners in public actions and in their press. It is simplicity itself to take a stryday (struggle day or party meeting) speech of the most emotional content and to substitute 'African' for 'Afrikaaner.' Almost every charge the Afrikaaners lay against the 'English' of one-time political control, domination of finance and commerce, of having exclusive private schools, is trebled by Africans when they want to charge Afrikaaners.[15]

The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 and

> . . . seeks to redress of grievances by constitutional means and agitate for the removal of the color bar in education, in industry, in Parliament and in administration. They hoped to educate the white Parliament, enlist the sympathy of Europeans, and teach African people to understand their rights and duties and to be industrious, clean, and thrifty. Also they would encourage the establishment of national colleges.[16]

The ANC relied on petitions and deputations which were sent to the government in London and Versailles in 1919. This party went through a series of phases which could be divided into the following characteristics.

1912-1936	Liberal expectations
1936-1949	Incipient militancy
1949-1952	Passive resistance
1953-1956	Multi-racial popular front
1957-1960	Emergence of Black Nationalism
1960	Movement banned and begun underground movement and abandoned non-violence

The Congress leadership failed to mobilize the masses during the 'twenties, a period which marks the industrial build-up where Africans were drawn into all industrial sectors of the economy. Though there were gold miners' strikes in 1946, the Congress failed to understand the implications or the opportunities of these developments. The youth was growing militant at this time and formed the Youth League Program's of Action in 1944. This league was led by the late Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu who has been on Roben Island since 1963, Nelson Mandela the president of ANC also on Roben Island, and Oliva Tambo acting president in exile since the death of Albert Luthuli in 1967.

It was the Youth League which introduced nationalism within the ANC which was later carried forward by the "Africanists." Its program proposed strikes, civil dis-

obedience and non-cooperation to achieve African aspiration.[17]

The period of 1949-1952 the Congress moved toward closer cooperation with Asians and Communists of South Africa. They launched the Defiance Campaign against unjust laws.[18] At this time the government had passed the Group Areas Act (1950), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the Bantu Authorities Act (1951) and the Separate Registration of Voters Act (1951). The Native Land Act of 1913 was also one of the acts being reformed. The campaign is known as the passive resistance. Volunteers joined the ANC and many Indians and Africans were arrested. Police repression forced this movement to close. When the government banned the Communist Party, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization and the Congress of Democrats were formed. These movements organized the "Congress of the People" in 1955. A freedom charter was formed which stated that "We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. . . ." ANC conducted non-violent campaigns against the Bantu Education Act but was unsuccessful in having the government change this act.

Bus boycotts were organized and 50,000 Africans participated. Nationalism was growing stronger in this movement. The Youth League opposed the "Freedom Charter"

and the "Africanists" movement emerged led by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. ANC had always emphasized a multi-racial South Africa rather than a black one. A conflict intensified in a conference in 1958. Sobukwe and his followers withdrew from the Congress. In April 1959 the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) took place. Its support grew rapidly and the largest ANC branch of Orlando switched its allegiance to PAC.

This movement called for a nationwide anti-pass campaign in which Africans would turn in their passes and voluntarily report for arrest. On March 21, 1960, the people marched toward the police station for arrest. The police fired on the crowds killing 67 and wounding 186. Demonstrations and mass arrests followed and the government declared the state of emergency. In April of the same year PAC and ANC were banned under a new law known as the Unlawful Organization Act.[19] The leadership of these organizations was banned and imprisoned. Those who escaped into exile formed the first refugee group from South Africa into the neighboring countries. Underground movements emerged in an attempt to continue violent resistance; Pogo under PAC and Umkonto we Sizeve under ANC. But these movements were ended in 1963 by yet another massive arrest. This ended organized African opposition until 1971 when a student movement was formed known as the Black People's Convention (BPC) under Stephen Biko, who was later killed in prison in

1977. This movement became the inspiration of the youth and all student organizations at black universities worked under its umbrella. In 1974 students rallied to celebrate the independence of Mozambique and one university was closed; its leaders were arrested and forced to exile. This marks yet another period of massive refugee exodus.

The BPC began a large campaign to raise the consciousness of the people. In their education preamble they see education serving the following areas as a goal:

a. Education is an instrument of national unity;

b. Education is geared toward the cultural, social, economic and intellectual level of all citizens;

c. The general content of education is geared towards the promotion of self-reliance, a high level of critical awareness, understanding the community and its problems, a sense of positive self-identity;

d. Education is geared towards the destruction of imperialist, racialist, tribalist, sectionalist, and colonialist and neo-colonialist notions;

e. Emphasis in general education shall be in the following areas:

1. With respect to languages, there should be one international language and one national vernacular language which shall be selected by the people's political structure;
2. Environment studies touching Geography, History, Economics, Political and Constitutional structures mainly of our country, but also as compared with states in Africa and others throughout the world;

3. Humanities shall include social anthropology, sociology, and elementary community development;
4. Basic science shall include arithmetic, mathematics, elementary physics and chemistry, and comparative economic systems.

f. A program of rapid elimination of illiteracy shall be designed and implemented;

g. Elementary education shall be free and compulsory for all citizens;

h. Specialization in education is introduced at the minimum effective level;

i. All teachers in all standards (grades) shall be specially trained to specialize in various fields specified above.[20]

This movement began to organize all sectors of the community in trying to raise their awareness. In June 1976, when the government forced the students to study Afrikaans, there was a strong resistance which led to the arrest and killing of children ranging from ages 8 to 20 years. This event sparked another major exodus of refugees.

In reading the literature on refugees in Africa, one finds that the estimates of the numbers of refugees vary significantly. The international agencies, because of the different status that each country's policies have, are unable to determine the actual number of refugees especially in Southern Africa where the upheavals increase daily. The studies show that the total world refugee population is

estimated at 40 million. Africa has 1 1/2 million of this total.

The reason for lack of accurate statistics is that some refugees, because of basic personality characteristics, have overcome the trauma of being uprooted and integrated themselves into community life. However psychologists point out that, merely having become a refugee under the circumstances usually attending present-day political upheavals has such deep effects on personality, that most people who have undergone uprooting and resettlement bear the psychic scars and related altered behavior for the remainder of their lives.[21]

While there is a disagreement over number, no one would argue that recent political developments in minority regimes of Namibia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa) are generating refugees at a rate faster than even the most basic rehabilitation work can keep pace with. It seems that for the next decade the number of refugees will be on the increase throughout the region. Further, if these countries achieve majority rule, tribal or party conflict within these countries may produce yet another refugee exodus as in present Angola, Mozambique, Burundi and Rwanda. It is estimated that, though Angola achieved its independence in 1974, there are 40,000 Angolans in the neighboring countries who have not been resettled or who are in opposition to the present government. As a result of the events in the

Shaba province of Zaire, an estimated 220,000 refugees crossed from Zaire into Angola.[22] Tanzania hosts about 35,000 refugees from Burundi who fled during the tribal conflict of 1967.

Even if the Southern African regime is liberated, large numbers of uprooted will persist for years. The report from the American Friends Service Committee estimates the total refugee population in the region is 200,000: 160,000 Zimbabweans, 30,000 Namibians and 5-7,000 South Africans.[23]

Let us briefly look at the current location of the refugees and the events that have led to their development.

Location and Numbers of Refugees

Namibia. In May of 1974, the South African troops raided the refugee camps of SWAPO at Kassinga, Angola. This event created an estimated 30,000 Namibia refugees. SWAPO has its central office in Lusaka but the majority of these refugees are in Angola. Lusaka is a locale for the Namibian Institute (an educational program under the auspices of the United Nations, training Namibians). Namibian refugees are also located in Botswana camps near Francistown. These refugees are mainly young men between

the ages of 14 to 30 years of age. There is a large percentage of children and mothers estimated at 500 people in Zambia.

The South African massacre of Namibians in Angola took place just when negotiations between Namibian nationalists and the Western countries were at their most delicate stage. There are two crucial issues now concerning Namibian negotiations. The United Nations Secretary General has agreed to send his representative to Namibia for a second time to negotiate with the South African Administrator General about UN supervised elections. The second issue is that the "internal leaders" of Namibia installed by the 1978 elections sponsored by South Africa have taken exception to several aspects of the Security Council adopted plan. The Namibian "constituent assembly" should not be permitted to alter the plan at this stage, since it has already been judged to be internationally acceptable.

The Namibian refugees face another problem concerning financial support from the United States. The Carter Administration has not yet given serious attention to the grave problems facing Southern African refugees. Fifteen million dollars has been allocated for fiscal year 1979 for Southern African refugees by the United States Congress. But Congressional restrictions prevent any aid to Mozambique and Angola or to refugees who have fled to these countries.

Congress has also prevented aid being sent to Tanzania and Zambia for these refugees unless there is a Presidential waiver. All these issues imply more problems developing for these refugees.

Most of the SWAPO leadership is under arrest and a new proposed election date was set for September 30, 1978, with UN peacekeeping forces moving in to supervise campaigns of all parties. But the UN forces have not yet entered Namibia. Guerilla warfare continues in Namibia.

Rhodesia.

> Six years of war is neither a lot nor a little. We are no longer at the beginning but we still have a long way to go. We have proven that we cannot be beaten, we have yet to demonstrate that we can win. The mango does not become a huge tree in one day. But as with the growing tree we are profoundly rooted in the soil which is our people, and the first fruits are already tasted by the masses.
>
> We have come a long way, from division, uncertainty and ignorance. We have come from nothing and become a People, a People where before there were only tribes. Combatants have come from the rank of peasants, industrial workers, and those working in the mines and plantations. From our illiteracy we have made schools, from our sickness hospitals. Where forced labor once reigned there now grow cooperatives, and production which formerly served the exploiters is now part of the people's strength.[24]

These words are those of the president of Mozambique describing their struggle. The burden presently being carried by Mozambique is a grave one. The support of this country for the Zimbabwean people is costly. Between 1976 and March 1977, 143 acts of aggression against Mozambique by the Smith regime have occurred. During this period 1,763 civilians have been murdered and over 1,208 wounded.[25]

In Doeroi, Mozambique, there are seven different settlements with approximately 24,000 Zimbabwean refugees. The majority of these refugees is between the ages of 14 and 20 years. The settlements or camps are administered by representatives of ZANU, the Patriotic Front and by personnel from Frelimo's (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) center for support to refugees and liberation movements. The UNHCFR is involved in seeking government permission to open a sub-office in Beira to work with the Mozambique government's provisional refugee service.

The Doeroi settlement receives many people with acute malnutrition, anemia and pneumonia. There are 100 cases of tuberculosis. There is no fresh water for drinking and the clinic. Refugees are engaged in making bricks for a new clinic, desks for the school and other needed artifacts.

In Zambia, twenty miles from Lusaka, the victory camp contains ZAPU-Patriotic Front schools. The camp houses 12,000 students. This camp is divided into two sections,

one for the boys and the other for women. ZAPU also administers two maternity centers, one for 500 infants with the other for expectant mothers.

There is yet another camp for Zimbabwean refugees at Selibi Pikwe in Botswana. This camp is a transit center, all efforts are geared to just the transporting of refugees from Zimbabwe to the north as flights are available. There was in June 1978 a total of 11,000 refugees in the transit center. It is estimated that two to three hundred Zimbabwean refugees enter Botswana every day.

South Africa refugees. The Botswana Christian Council and the UNHCFR estimate a minimum amount each month of 40-100 political refugees coming from South Africa. There are a couple thousand refugees in Botswana. Most of these refugees are in the capital city Gaborone, which is about twelve miles from the South African border. Most of these refugees are young men ranging from the ages of 12 to 22 years. The situation in Botswana is not favorable. These students are volatile and politicized. Young men and women, though in their teens have demonstrated the capacity for organizing mass struggle. They are angry. For example,

> . . . a large group of students being returned from Nigeria after an alienating experience there with the northern Nigerian school system. Several of the students being arrested by the Botswana police after they had exposed, detained and beaten some South African government infiltrators; the 25 some odd cases of student refugees being deported back to South Africa, several student refugees being offered

> scholarships to Danish universities only to be declared prohibited immigrants and sent back to Botswana upon their arrival at Copenhagen Airport.[26]

The Botswana government is attempting to build a settlement for South African refugees to be constructed 180 kilometers west of Gaborone.[27]

Some hundreds of South African refugees are found in Tanzania in military training camps. It is difficult to obtain permission to enter these camps. The refugees in these camps range from 18 to 45 years of age. They are almost all male. There are several camps in this country under both the PAC and ANC liberation movements.

Summary and Overview

The critique of the liberation movements points out differences between individuals within the leadership to be the major handicap in unifying the movements. This chapter has examined historical events that led to the formation of different parties, and the events that precipitated them. This chapter has provided extensive review of primary and secondary materials which discuss the historical developments of nationalism and the events that led to the refugee exodus of Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa.

Although the South African and Rhodesian government have intensified their minority regime laws of separate developments, African leadership does not have a unified

ideology which could bring all the people together. Liberation for these countries will only come through bloodshed and produce many refugees in neighboring countries.

The literature from historical documents has provided the major sources for this study. The different committee documents of those concerned with apartheid like the American Friends Service Committee, the Committee on Africa, the American Committee on Africa, and the UNHCFR reports have provided the study with the estimates of the numbers of refugees.

The map provided on the next page is to help in understanding the relationship between those countries that host refugees and those from which refugees originate.


Dar-es-Salaam
REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
Kinshasa
ZAIRE
Luanda
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
Lusaka
MOZAMBIQUE
Salisbury
RHODESIA
NAMIBIA
REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA
Windhoek
Gaborone
Pretoria
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
Maputo
Mbabane
SWAZILAND
Maseru
LESOTHO
Capitals
Front Line States
Major Refugee Camps


Dar-es-Salaam
REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
Kinshasa
ZAIRE
Luanda
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
Lusaka
Salisbury
MOZAMBIQUE
RHODESIA
NAMIBIA
REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA
Windhoek
Gaborone
Pretoria
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
Maputo
Mbabane
SWAZILAND
Maseru
LESOTHO
Capitals
Front Line States
Major Refugee Camps

Endnotes--Chapter III

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[21]H.B.M. Murphy, Unesco Publication (Paris: Unesco, 1955), pp. 99-112.

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[23]Ginny Hill, Update on Southern Africa (Philadelphia: Friend Service Committee Incorporated, 1979), p. 2.

[24]Samora Machel, "Mozambique Revolution," People's Power Magazine, no. 10 (1977), p. 4.

[25]Prexy Nesbitt, American Committee on Africa: A Report on Southern Africa Visit (New York, November 1978), p. 4.

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Of this group only five students passed mathematics. From 1967 to 1971 it became apparent that more and more students were graduating without science and mathematics qualifications. The school, however, did not make provisions to improve its instruction or to provide crash courses to train the students with basic information needed to pass the examinations.

English as a foreign language is another course that the school did not develop. The English course was only taught as a subject in the curriculum. To improve students' skills, a language laboratory was needed. Teachers of the language did not have sample lessons to provide adequate comprehension and discussion. English was one of the subjects that led to many students' failure to receive a high school diploma.

> Many linguists have identified speech as an essential medium of communication between the pupils and the teachers. They find that in African, ideas pass from teacher to pupil largely by means of speech whereas pupils' interpretation of those ideas is more often returned to teacher in written form. They further emphasize that classroom is essentially a verbal environment, that is, learning and communication depend almost exclusively upon student's abilities to use and comprehend oral and written language. When, for the students, the language of instruction in the classroom is their second language, special problems in learning and communication are, of course, to be expected.[4]

When the pupil's ideas are at odd with the teacher's interpretation of what has been taught, too frequently the pupils are blamed. The students in this institution came from

colonial education systems which stressed memorization of facts; they continued this learning set at Kurasini. Teachers did not take steps to assess the vocabulary of words and ideas which their students had mastered, and to use these as a basis for the introduction of new ideas. Students were blamed for the lack of communication in the classroom; teachers did not assess the level at which they were communicating and identify the areas in which pupils needed special help.

Reading skills needed to be developed consistently. A reading laboratory would have helped the students; this could have encouraged students to continue reading even after the completion of the course. This could have been taken either through class teachers, the library or study teachers. The library itself needed texts such as Longman's Structural Readers[5] to encourage reading and comprehension. The library could have had many books at an advanced level such as Hemingway's Old Man and the Sea, but had far too few books to interest young readers, and particularly, those for whom English was a very new foreign language. There is a wide range of support materials which have been developed in Britain for use with immigrants that could have been purchased for the school. These materials could have been made available at the library for both students and teachers. The library also needed Afrikaans/English, Portugese/English and Kiswahili/English dictionaries to assist students in

language learning.

Teaching staff for study skill courses. This is the single most important factor in the successful development of an education program for refugees in secondary schools. Unless qualified and experienced teachers are appointed it becomes difficult to achieve successful learning situations. Suitably trained and qualified staff in Africa as a whole are difficult to find in this field. Many institutions admit expatriates in this category and offer high salaries. Most of the Kurasini staff were volunteers with only the first academic degree. The other difficulty, however, was that all teachers had to be appointed by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education authorities. An approach to the highest level officer was needed to obtain agreement for any appointments. There is a difficulty in the case of volunteers to find teachers with such skills; therefore, staff with appropriate backgrounds were difficult to find. If the school chose to appoint someone other than a volunteer, it needed the Tanzanian authorities to take the initiative. Because Kurasini was built and staffed by Americans without other agencies involved, it became difficult for it to later involve other international agencies. Such planning in developing Kurasini was not accomplished--hence the academic strengths of the students were not significantly improved.

In 1971 Kurasini International College was closed.[6]

The writer of this case was unable to find the reasons for the closure of this institution. During this period, the American/Tanzanian relationship was strained and American aid to Africa was significantly reduced. The one hundred and fifty students were placed in different high schools in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia. There are no reports available to show whether these students followed an academic career or they were absorbed into technical institutions.

Summary and Conclusions

The structure of this school was designed to produce a few educated Africans who would be employed as civil servants in their country of origin upon completing their higher education in American universities. The curriculum did not differ from that of British colonial education. The education was not designed to equip students with the necessary knowledge and skills that would enable them upon graduation to contribute to their refugee community and the host country's developmental needs. The emphasis in the curriculum was on academic subjects with insufficient English language and science training. Western administrators of this institution failed to link educational planning and forecasting of the overall Southern African developmental needs. The secondary education in Kurasini did not prepare its graduates with needed skills and was

not designed to assist the refugees in obtaining jobs in host countries.

This institution was developed at a critical time in Tanzania when African Socialism and its implication to planning was crucial. Tanzanian education philosophy was in the making at this time. An analysis of these philosophies could have raised questions concerning the future of this institution. Concepts such as "Education for Self-Reliance is no immediate panacea for all the familiar problems that face educationists in developing countries, but a guide to a pattern of education to our society's needs that we can afford and that is based upon principles of social justice and human dignity"[7] could have been analyzed because these thoughts occupied the minds of the students and their future.

Philosophies such as "preparing our young people to play a dynamic and constructive role in development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being. . . . Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and to help the pupils accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not to those appropriate to our colonial past"[8] could have been studied as guidelines to clarify the uncertain future of these students. However, the philosophy of Kurasini was designed around the achievement of the in-

dividual, the colonial education pattern. The staff also perpetuated the values and norms of individualism and not the philosophy of socialism and its economic implications. Efforts to blunt competition in this school were not apparent as the system emphasized examination criteria as the indicator of success or failure. Persons who passed the examinations were frequently very arrogant about their achievement, particularly on winning scholarships for higher education abroad.

In light of the analysis of this study, it is clear that major research areas are needed to provide adequate future refugee training programs. The curriculum objectives in particular should be tailored around the policies and ideologies of the society to be served, and in particular around the manpower needs of Africa.

The writer has attempted to describe in this section some of those variables as they specifically apply to refugee educational programs in general and to South African refugees in particular--based on the writer's observations. The writer has, in this chapter, examined the areas of program research, program development, program implementation, program coordination and program resources in an attempt to describe some factors and relationships which must be considered in order to design, implement and fully utilize a successful and beneficial refugee training program.

Program research. The lack of a significant body of research available to the African refugees is one of the first obstacles met by those who attempt to draw up educational plans and priorities for programs affecting this population.

Not only is there a paucity of documented sociological research, but there is a lack of information about techniques and methodology specifically intended to deal with the problems of South African refugees. The lack of specific information makes research difficult even to adapt information from other programs designed to deal with problems of displaced persons. Research into the sociology, psychology, politics, and economics of this population needs assessing, and evaluation if meaningful programs are to evolve.

Information dissemination. There is a need for pilot programs and model approaches which might flow from and contribute to research. If a program has proven to be a success or has failed disastrously, the results of those successes or failures should be available for examination by those responsible for planning developmental programs for future refugees.

In addition, useful information concerning such programs should be available to refugee leadership. A professional journal or some other kind of central clearinghouse for information dissemination of all programs undertaken would be extremely useful as a means of effectively

concentrating such information as it becomes available.

Both gathering and sharing of information by all organizations are essential to the design of effective refugee training programs.

Program development. Innovation in program development must come from within the cultural context of the South African refugee population, if effective services are to be offered to provide skills for those individuals. Because little research has been undertaken on the specific skills needed by South African refugees, it is especially important that these refugees and their representatives be consulted on the development of educational programs for them.

Policy committees or boards of organizations involved with training South African refugees should coordinate their work so that goals and objectives of each program could be designed and altered where necessary to meet their clients' needs. Such advisory boards should be composed of representatives from both the educational agencies and the refugee community. Such boards should play an active role in formulating goals and objectives for future programs. Guidelines, priority determination and suggested methodologies that evolve from such a consortium should deal with specific local problems that affect the education and the future of refugee communities.

For example, a program designed to train a rural and

agricultural refugee population cannot be of value to most South African refugees, since the majority of these individuals are from urban areas.

A different program should also be designed to meet the needs of those intending to study in technical and vocational areas, so that diversified skills among the population could be developed at the end of a certain period.

There are other elements in educational training programs such as education-level-skills and job placement that should be considered prior to the program design. When training programs for refugees are initiated, consideration of local host country students should be incorporated, so that each group's problems are dealt with separately, considering the cultural backgrounds of each group to delineate program design inadequacies.

A board representing the local community might provide different approaches selected to meet local needs, while international agencies might also have a set of selected program models for refugees. A comprehensive approach could be designed from evaluation of all models, to formulate a program where the whole refugee community can effectively benefit. The selection of staff to carry out the programs and the training of that staff to effect the objectives should be formulated. Feedback for purposes of modification and refinement of the training procedure should be implemented early in the program.

Program staffing. In general, there is a great need for trained personnel in Africa. The refugee programs may strain this shortage even more. There is therefore an urgent need to identify and contact qualified South African personnel to staff the diverse programs meant to serve South African refugees. The lack of personnel is magnified at the administrative level of the liberation movements.

Where qualified South African personnel are not available to fill the necessary positions, staff training is a key to the successful operation of such programs. The administrators need to be sensitive to the needs of the refugee client, who might be undergoing special cultural problems in a new environment. If programs provide for rigorous staff training and selection, their operations can be made more effective. While this kind of training may be considered extraneous to the training of refugees, the writer feels that such training is essential if the programs are to effectively serve the South African refugees.

Program implementation. The writer feels that the single largest obstacle to the operation of successful South African refugee training programs is the fact that almost all aspects of training are assumed by foreigners. Many of these have no experience in Africa, and some have never had any education training prior to being involved with the refugee population.

Such a staff use criteria familiar to their own culture in student selection and counseling. What is even more of a problem is that students who intend to go to Germany or the Scandinavian countries for training are interviewed in English, yet in order to enter such a program, they first must progress in the German or Scandinavian languages.

Often interviewers are themselves deficient in the English language and the accents of both parties do not complement each other. Communication thus garbled becomes a handicap to program entry, and most programs do not offer their own staff language training.

Assessment of the needs, the aspirations and the skills of the refugees served must evolve during the program's design stages to be meaningful and effective for the benefit of the refugees.

A coordinated approach to all aspects of training would do much toward more accurate assessment and evaluation of refugee trainee's needs and skills. In order to utilize a coordinated approach, staff training and recruitment assume a critical role, and the lack of adequate provision for this kind of training would minimize the chances for success.

There is a wide chasm between the goals of administrator of refugee training programs and the goals of those who are being trained. Most of the time, the administrators may become overly interested in the statistics of placement

for future funding needs. The refugees then find themselves in institutions which are inadequately prepared to meet their aspirations and counseling needs. Students are placed in countries or universities inappropriate to refugees' skill needs. These kinds of placements may look good statistically, but for the refugee they have failure built into them. Unless methods of assessment utilizing counseling parameters are devised and utilized, program coordinators will continue to increase the underdevelopment of these individuals.

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C H A P T E R V I

PROCEDURE FOR CURRICULUM PLANNING

The previous chapters discussed the problems that prevail in education programs for South African refugees, and pointed out implications and issues for curriculum planners. This chapter suggests a procedure to be followed in carrying out curriculum development for South African refugees. This chapter is in two sections. The first section gives the principles on which the proposed procedure is based and the second section outlines the procedure itself.

Education for refugee students must be based on the premise that the goal of their study is to provide them with the skills and other capabilities to build their own society. Educational objectives at various levels can be devised to meet segments of this learning goal. Curriculum naturally develops from these objectives, depending upon the educational levels for which it is being developed, its particular setting (country, educational system) and the capabilities and previous learning experience of the students.

Guiding Principles

There are many principles that could govern the procedure for curriculum development for refugees. In this chapter five most important principles are suggested and discussed.

Basic research planning and evaluation for effective curriculum should be built into the development of the South African Refugee curriculum as a foundation. This is the first principle. Givens in the educational environment are social realities, politics, policies, traditions, ecology, science technology, and cultural context of education, all of which are the ways of organizing the learning environment and describing the forces which impinge on education. Because the organization of curriculum stems from a cultural context in any society, host countries' curriculum planners are ill-equipped to incorporate the educational goals and aspirations most applicable to South African students. Added to this dimension there is undulation and constant change of the curricula of host countries. These changes reflect host countries' developmental needs. Simultaneously, there is an increasing influx in the numbers of refugees who add another element to the problems of curriculum planners.

In order to adequately plan the curriculum for South African refugees, South African educators, trainers, curriculum planners, learners and professionals must be included in the design of the curriculum for South African

refugees in host countries.

The setting of goals and objectives are important factors for curriculum development. Therefore, the second principle to be considered is the need for curriculum planners to concern themselves with goals and objectives of the specific curriculum for refugees. In otherwords, the curriculum planners must concern themselves with the intended end result. Furthermore these goals should be prioritized in order of their importance.

The third and most important principle in refugee education is to consider the forces in the refugee society which affect the school; in particular, agencies that provide financial assistance to the education of this population. It is also important to give serious consideration to establishing educational goals with host governments that will not deter the basic objectives of the school in spite of political changes that can occur. If a host government changes political policies, the school should not be affected. If this understanding is established, it will provide continuity which is essential in curriculum development. These factors will aid the developers in the selection of the curriculum context.

The fourth principle should place the learner as the central purpose in developing the curriculum. Learning experiences should provide for a wide range of objectives, should be appropriate to the needs of the student and interest the students, and should be based on the prior learning

abilities of the student.[1] Furthermore, the curriculum developers should consider a scientific method of curriculum development as proposed by Bobitt

> . . . to design pupil activities and experiences which will promote accomplishment of selected objectives: such activities could be observing, performing functions, reading; reporting, prolonging, repeating and intensifying one's experiences; problem solving and generalizing. Pupil activities are seen as an outgrowth of objectives and statements of learning activity specify the type of activity and the content it will cover. For example, the pupil will observe the labors and the working conditions of the several vocational groups existing in his community.[2]

The curriculum planners should in addition conduct remediation in order to assure full pupil achievement of the objectives. To achieve these ends one could borrow Ralph Tyler's four questions in curriculum development.

1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
2. How can learning experiences be selected which are likely to be useful in attaining these objectives?
3. How can learning experiences be organized for effective instruction?
4. How can effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated?[3]

The learner in the refugee education is of particular importance because the previous education system he/she is a product of de-emphasized his needs. The teachers were not

the developers of the curriculum but carriers of the design whose goals they did not organize. The learners under Bantu Education just memorized facts to succeed in their examination. Curriculum planners emphasize that one of the major components of curriculum design is the learner.

Rather than commit the curriculum to an exhaustive list of specific objectives derived only from adult behavior, Tyler recommended that the question of overall purposes be addressed initially, because "if the educational program is to be planned and if efforts for continued improvement are to be made, it is very necessary to have some conception of the goals that are being aimed at."[4] These purposes may be derived at through studies of the learner, present life outside of the school and subject matter specialties, and then should be screened through a philosophy of education and psychology of learning in order to weed out inappropriate or unaccomplishable objectives. The result will be "a small list of important objectives that are feasible of attainment";[5] and the selection of learning experiences that are likely to be useful in reaching the selected objectives. This principle is very important because it will demand that the curriculum developers design the curriculum with the learner in mind.

The last principle is the systematic concern with all aspects of the curriculum through continuous evaluation and research. This should be built into the designer's cur-

riculum model. It is of great importance in the refugee setting to evaluate the curriculum to see if it is in tune with stated objectives. After instruction has taken place, the effectiveness of the learning opportunities need to be appraised for their ability to produce the desired behavior articulated in the objectives. Both the content of the curriculum and behavior of the student must be assessed in regard to any given objective.

> The process of evaluation is essentially the process of determining to what extent the educational objectives are actually being realized by the program of curriculum and instruction. However, since educational objectives are essentially a change in human beings . . . evaluation is the process for determining the degree to which these changes in behavior are actually taking place.[6]

Thus the curriculum is evaluated through the performance of the students.

If the recommended principles are seriously considered by those who plan the curriculum for the refugees, conclusions surrounding the prescription of the processes of curriculum development will be reached. These principles address basic issues such as: what is the curriculum; what are the chief elements in it; what should be the relationship between these elements and their supporting elements; what problems and issues are involved in organizing this curriculum; what are the relationships of the curriculum design to the practical conditions under which it is to function; what is the order of making this curriculum; and fi-

nally what are the objectives being met.

These issues are raised by Taba[7] and are essential in the design of the refugee curriculum. They help define the criteria, the objectives, the content, learning experience, organization and evaluation of the curriculum, as emphasized by Taba in her curriculum design processes.[8] They attempt to define the educational objectives with regard to the analyses of social and cultural forces, the learner and learning theory and the nature or structure of knowledge as Taba recommends.[9] The curriculum designers should provide a series of consciously directed training experiences to accomplish the objectives. The refugee education should be seen as

> . . . a thing of experience, and as work and play--experiences of general community life are being more and more utilized, the line of demarcation between directed and undirected training experience is rapidly disappearing. Education must be concerned with both, even though it does not direct both.[10]

To implement the curriculum in refugee schools, there is a need for understanding the host country curriculum to see if their goals and objectives are complementing those of the refugees. Principle one is intended to direct the skills obtained by refugees to skills needed by host countries. The expertise needed in the region should be part of the curriculum design so that refugees could find room to deliver the skills needed. This principle is also very important in that it will force the curriculum design-

ers to research those areas in which the host countries' nationals do not excel, and in which the region is deficient. Such areas could be geology, plant pathology, environmental ecology, industrial engineering, etc.

The refugee community is more affected by forces outside the school than are the ordinary communities, such as raids on the refugee camps. The implications underlying the first principle is that a thorough understanding of the overall nature of refugees is a crucial factor in the designing of the education plan. This principle should be implemented by continuous research that will bring forth data on the nature of this refugee community, their psychology, their political, economic and social nature, to see if these factors have implications for the curriculum design.

As it has been indicated in previous chapters, these refugees come from a deficient school system. Principle one indicates the need for evaluation and curriculum development to be a continuous process. This is an important factor because the refugee society is constantly changing. These changes necessitate the need for school curricula to change accordingly. Therefore, the objectives and goals of the curricula are processes which need a philosophy that would guide the future of the refugee; this is a subject of principle two. Both principle one and two can overlap but all principles are designed so that curriculum developers can be flexible in the design. Goals for the refugees' educa-

tion design should be established through both short and long-range educational planning. They should be designed with enough flexibility to accommodate unpredictable factors. It is important that the objectives complement the needs of both refugee and host countries.

Principle three points to the factors in the host countries that can lead to program changes because of unforeseen financial and political instabilities. These factors can affect the curriculum and the continuum in the learning experiences of the refugees. The international, private voluntary and government agencies should have a financial commitment to the education of the refugees. A long-range forecast in the areas of finance could have significant implications to the curriculum design. The changing of one government to another should not alter the design and objectives established for the curriculum of the refugees. Guidelines should be established with the host governments so that such changes, if they occur, should not disturb the learning experiences of the refugees.

The fourth principle deals with the learner, his surroundings and the skills to be accomplished in a learning environment. This principle will demand trained personnel in understanding and developing materials that would meet the needs of the learner. Materials development, subject content, teaching methods and their evaluation are procedures of importance to the development of the learning ex-

periences of the student refugee. To achieve this principle, the staff should be constantly trained, the evaluation of the progress of the learner's experiences constantly checked. The objectives selected for the school should be appraised to see if they are in tune with the needs of the times and the students, to stress those that are found essential and discard those that do not work effectively.

The last principle deals with the evaluation of the curriculum. Without evaluation, curriculum development cannot be shown to meet intended educational goals. Many high school students crowd the town without jobs or the skills to meet the job market. Evaluation can also provide a sequence--having each experience build upon preceding ones--to go more broadly and deeply into matters involved. It provides integration by helping the student to get a unified view and to unify his behavior in relation to elements needed.[11] Without evaluation it would be difficult to know if the goals set are being met.

To meet manpower needs curriculum analysts and planners have to focus on all the aspects of education as they relate to the host countries' manpower and future needs. The following questions may help to identify the problems that should be analyzed.

1. What are the major high level manpower needs in different social and economic sectors of the host countries?

2. What are the best procedures for identifying and quantifying these needs?
3. To what extent are the needs of each one of the sectors being reflected by current market demands of employers?
4. To what extent are institutions of higher education supplying this demand?

The function of education in developing countries is to provide needed technicians and professionals. The proper discharge of this function depends on understanding problems which are relatively complex. Analysis of these problems should be a continuing process and not a single one-time attempt. In other words, the recommendations of the present analysis concerning the future of refugee secondary education should represent a first step, the initiation of a continuing process of evaluation.

Planning Guide

Curriculum development entails a series of activities: the preparation of the syllabus, the production of instructional materials and the implementation of the curriculum in the system.

Traditionally, in the colonial setting, these activities were considered to be the responsibility of the Commissioner of Education, the principal, and the teachers. The syllabus, containing a list of topics to be taught in

school and some specification of the goals of education, was usually presented by educational authorities and foreign policy-making individuals.

Instructional materials were developed, externally, by experts in the subject matter. The preparation of the textbooks for classroom use, to cover the specification of the syllabus, was done externally. The teacher and the learner had to coordinate among themselves to produce the end product of the program. Supervisors were organized to ensure the implementation of the program.

For the African states to determine the development of their future, education became the target area for reconstruction. The colonial Commissioner of Education was replaced by the Minister of Education.

As the governments began to marshall their development, the Minister of Education was given powers to organize and administer the educational system. Most of these ministers, as new education innovators, did not take time to redesign the colonial curriculum to meet national goals, since these goals were not yet set. They proceeded under the same colonial pattern. They failed to conceive curriculum activities as related to the total national development plan and they failed to perceive education as a means of manpower development within the available industries and national resources.

Most curriculum activities were selected by the

minister or his deputy. The syllabus and materials produced were implemented without re-examination as to the goals or skills to be achieved. The teachers were not given an opportunity to examine the materials and match them with the syllabus.

These ministers generally failed to realize that a syllabus is adequate only if it produces curriculum materials which are suitable for attaining the required objectives. If the Minister of Education produces instructional materials the syllabus is usually termed inadequate, but is not changed. The implementation of the curriculum is usually carried out by the supervisors who are not part of the group developing materials.

The Minister of Education was also not responsible for training the teacher to use the materials produced. The monitoring of materials is done by those who did not design them. Thus the development of the curriculum is usually not an integrated process of inter-related tasks, i.e., syllabus determination, instructional material preparation, and program implementation.

The purpose of this section is to examine these inter-related curriculum tasks.

1. Planning the outline of the program, including the preparation of the syllabus;
2. Production of learning materials including the specifications of learning activities; and

3. Implementation of the program.

Curriculum Development Tasks

STAGE	ACTIVITY
Planning Outline:	Selection of objectives
	Selection of content
	Selection of teaching-learning strategies
Preparation of Instructional materials:	Location of instructional materials
	Organization of materials into courses of study
	Testing of materials
	Modification on basis of testing results
Implementation:	Dissemination
	Setting of logistic system
	Teacher training
	Adjustment of national examination systems
	Cooperation with administrative bodies
	Quality control
	Recycling

Observing the variety of problems these refugees bring into this society, it is important that the first decision in the process of curriculum development be the determination of objectives, the selection of subject content to be learned and the selection of learning strategies. The

outline of the program should be designed. The syllabus, which is the detailed specified objectives and the content of a defined field of study, should be specified.

The syllabus plus the guidelines concerning the learning strategies and learning activities formulate the program outline and are usually divided into the following sections:

a. Specifications of program objectives;

b. The selection of content; and

c. The decisions about teaching-learning strategies.

The aim of the refugee curriculum should be to introduce a series of desired changes in the refugee's behavior. And these should be the objectives of the program.

The selection of objectives should be considered as representing the value judgment of those responsible for the school. The selection of the curriculum objectives of the refugee programs should be facilitated by learner needs. Each program designer should decide on their relevance and on their specific weight in determining these objectives. The decisions about the curriculum objectives of the refugees are directly affected by the development needs of South African countries by the factors related to their contemporary life outside their country, the nature of the subject matter of study materials, suggestions for learning strategies, and arrangements for putting the program into use.

Forecasting of Refugee Education

One major objective of a refugee society is to help create favorable conditions for scientific forecasting; the forecasting of scientific and technical progress and of the economy of any society.

These forecasts become the basis for planning. The goal in forecasting determines the situation in the future and constructs a general model for it.

Analogies, progressive trends, and extrapolation, modeling and computer calculation too are some of the scientific variants. These can be seen as achievements but less can be said about educational forecasting variants. To improve forecasting in education comprehensive studies by economists, educators, sociologists and other scientists must be undertaken. A comprehensive methodological foundation of educational forecasting must be created with organized trained personnel.

The forecasting of education as one of the most important scientific components in development depends to a large degree on the nation's economy. It is therefore necessary to take into consideration the inter-relationship between the present economic development of the Republic of South Africa, and the state of education, culture and science.

Forecasting in education and improving the skill

level of the Africans will help delineate the problems of an inferiority complex that exist between the mental labor of whites, and the physical labor of the blacks.

The planners, involved in training skilled refugee personnel, should compile and analyze the necessary demographic refugee data. This will lead to knowledge of the number and composition of the refugee population and factors responsible for their movement. This demographic forecast can serve as a starting point for working out the balance sheet of skills needed, and skills to be tapped during the period of exile, which are to correspond with manpower developmental needs of host countries. This should reflect the economic growth rate, and the structural changes taking place in the South African economy, which are the foundations of scientific forecasting, in the training of skilled personnel.

Planners should predict the rates of development of new technologies and advanced branches of industries, in a highly industrialized economy, to determine the needs to produce scientific specialists. This will make it possible to compile a quantitative forecast of the need for skilled and specialized refugees that can be utilized through the host countries.

In order for the planners to anticipate the emergence of refugee occupations forecast, it will be essential for them to analyze the educational system at all levels. A

critical examination of the inter-relationships between the general education, secondary school, vocational training and higher education with the developing needs of the economy is an important precondition for forecasting the training of refugees.

It will be important for the planners to take into account the age at which students begin instruction at each level and to ascertain whether the new system meets the required needs or whether more or different curricula should be established. It should also determine the level that various age groups should achieve.

The planners should also determine the changing patterns of student enrollment at each level and where their careers will take them. It should show whether they can be workers within the external economy, or whether they should go on to higher studies. It could also show the complete picture of the change patterns or structures within the training institution, therefore giving indicators of the education system as a whole. Such planning can be used as a basis for more detailed forecasts for different types of education needed for the society.

Summary and Conclusion

If man creates his future, educators have the responsibility to envision future alternatives, to predict directions and to try to influence the course of change.

The guiding principles proposed in this chapter are intended to lead the curriculum designers more toward intended goals of the society; to make choices and decisions about the future of the South African refugee society; to insure that the beliefs and values of the refugee society affect their actions; and that the skills given to the students are to build and motivate the refugee student and the society at large.

A planned curriculum guide will take into consideration all the factors that retard education experiences of the students, and alleviate them accordingly. The planners of these curricula will have to know the problems of education and see all its peculiarities through scanning the problem to get all necessary information by putting the theory into practice, and find those aspects of the problems that are not explained by the theory and gain insight into the goals and objectives of this society.

Constant evaluation of the goals and objectives of the curriculum are proposed to be continuous and to aid the curriculum design in keeping abreast with the society that the education is designed for.

As these principles are followed, the curriculum planners will be constructive in the designing of learning experiences. The clientele will be able to benefit from the result of a well planned program. The objectives and goals will be designed to meet the needs of the learner and the society he has to serve.

Endnotes--Chapter VI

[1]Ralph Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 65-82.

[2]Franklin Bobitt, How to Make Curriculum (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), p. 59.

[3]Tyler, p. I.

[4]Ibid., p. 3.

[5]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[6]Ibid., pp. 105-06.

[7]Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development Theory and Practice (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962), p. 10.

[8]Ibid., pp. 10 and 442.

[9]Ibid., p. 10.

[10]Bobitt, p. 43.

[11]Tyler, pp. 84-86.

C H A P T E R V I I

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The major thrust of this study has been to identify the problems of refugee educational programs and show the need for a curriculum design for this population. The need for such a program design is evident. An increasing number of South African refugees have unmet educational needs because existing patchwork refugee programs are based on objectives often unrelated to student and national needs. The fifteen year history of the educational placement activities of private, international and governmental organizations has too long remained unevaluated.

These programs have often been aimed at meeting political rather than educational goals. This study's second major thrust, based upon an analysis of South African student's skills needs, has been to develop a curriculum in different selected occupational areas that would assist in development and implementation of a coherent, responsive educational program at the secondary level.

The preceding chapters presented and analyzed the problems of South African refugee education, the emergence of international organizations as a support group and the design and implementation of existing refugee educational

programs. Also presented were findings of the goals and objectives of international agencies showing how the programs have often failed to serve the particular community needs.

The international agencies which funded South African refugees' scholarships adopted at the end of the 'sixties a policy of terminating this support since there was no new exodus foreseen. With the 1976 uprising and subsequent flight by young South Africans, there must now be renewed efforts to strengthen and increase educational programs for South African refugees. No current training programs are adequately staffed with South African professionals who can be effectively utilized in advisory capacities.

International agencies' policies toward South African refugees have gone through a decade and a half without dramatic change, and there are few signs of major new departures in the planning and management of South African refugee educational programs. At the same time, South African refugees have received relatively few benefits from past programs over the last decade since, despite their status, they have systematically been accorded a low priority within the educational plans of host countries and international placement agencies. Looking, for example, at foreign students enrolled in institutions of higher education in the United States during 1974-1975, Southern Africans were 406

in number, while Western Africans were 6,669 in number.

Few efforts were made by these programs to obtain a complete picture of the needs or the overall assistance available to South African refugees. It is difficult to ascertain the number of refugees who benefited or are currently benefiting from programs of the 'sixties.

Secondary school planners in particular did not assess the necessary skills of the South Africans needed for matriculation in host countries. For example, science curriculum is the major component that South African Bantu Education pioneers purposely excluded from the African learning experience. This curriculum consequently requires special emphasis and reinforcement within the refugee education system so as to instill the importance of the sciences and their role in economic and social development.

The importance of science education at the secondary level within independent African states is well recognized, however a great deal more needs to be done for South African refugees. Suitable texts and laboratory equipment to achieve these objectives in host countries' school systems is still wanting. However, for South African refugees science education needs urgent attention since their country ranks among the developed nations of the world. Training in science and technology in industrialized Western countries is introduced as early as possible in the child's learning experiences, but in South Africa it is not.

In host countries' secondary schools one finds that the students who take science courses are often those who intend to use them as a foundation for further study of scientific and technological subjects at universities and other technical institutions. It is, however, important that secondary planners for South African refugees create a curriculum whereby all students receive a comprehensive science program throughout their secondary school lives. This will enable students to cope with the scientific methods and to have a foundation for the modern industrial world. Students who continue with science-based studies should be given intensive additional material of more specialized nature. Science programs should be presented so that refugees can comprehend their utility rather than be "turned off" by inappropriate subject matter.

To achieve these program objectives, a number of problems in the science curriculum area need to be resolved. These include the need to train more science teachers, to provide revised texts and course material relevant to the circumstances and background of refugee students, and to provide school laboratory equipment at low cost.

Curriculum planners, in collaboration with science teachers, should plan the increased capacity in science teaching and learning. One process is for students at the secondary level to extend basic science knowledge toward practical uses such as production and technology and to

include the processes of metal working and machinery and tool making. This would ensure that all students who complete secondary education will have a general knowledge of technology production which provides the basis for a modern economy and for the technological culture of modern South Africa.

It is important to note that developing African universities have just entered the field of technological teaching and research. Their programs show a pattern of copying developed European syllabi. The science and engineering graduates that have been produced are suitable for entry into developed Western industrial economies, but are unprepared for the pioneering tasks of inventive self-reliant science and engineering in independent African countries. For refugee science education curriculum, emphasis must be placed on engineering science and the development of analytical skills for applied engineering and problem solving skills; students should be encouraged to engage in basic or applied scientific research and engineering. For those college bound refugee students, counseling is very important, and should address the health issues so that students can engage in skills applicable to their kind of environment.

In health education, the curriculum designers should reflect the health needs of the refugees in their country of asylum and those of South Africa. Health workers should be trained in refugee secondary school programs designed to

tackle the prevailing health problems of this population's environment. Creative thinking in medical education and training must be encouraged toward the design of medical systems appropriate to the African environments. Health education objectives should incorporate studies of health delivery systems as a necessary component of the curriculum. This will foster alternatives to the Western medical system which is based on a capital-intensive system of medical schools, equipment and hospitals. Counselors should raise some awareness of these issues at a secondary level so that students select appropriate professions.

Conclusions for Staff Training

The staff of these programs, where possible, should be South African to provide cultural and country aspirations. Teachers must have the ability to teach and counsel the students as to their progress. It is imperative that the staff demonstrate an awareness and appreciation of cultural variables and a willingness to communicate with the client. Both teachers and additional staff should exhibit pride in a particular occupational skill; and show a willingness to continuously upgrade and research their fields.

Training programs for staff development should include an awareness of cultural and linguistic variables as well as interpersonal relations. Effective communication must exist between private agencies, international organiza-

tions, and governmental institutions when designing educational programs. Staff development should also include management training, instruction and media technology. There should be intensive in-service training programs conducted within the educational institutions which are in tune with current problems and priorities must be given to refugees rather than the agencies.

All teaching and administrative personnel in the programs must take at least one training workshop relevant to his field per year in areas of human awareness, psychological regress and specialized training. This is essential, for most of the staff in developing areas add to the underdevelopment of the society by failing to continuously upgrade and strengthen their subject areas. Historically, their problems are not challenged because of manpower shortages.

Program Priority Needs

The South African student, coming from the oppressive Bantu Education has developed a negative self-concept. In order to alter the effects of low self-esteem, the educational program and staff must begin by building trust in the student. Appropriate materials to strengthen the cultural continuum and belongingness should be designed. Acquainting refugees with decision making processes will enhance their understanding of the governmental methodological

procedures of progams intended for their development and growth. This process will unveil some of the intricate factors of law making and coordination of their future national goals. It can be arranged through negotiations with host countries for internships within their cabinets.

The need for constant assessment, reassessment, evaluation and upgrading of attained skills is necessary to reinforce a healthy self-concept, while satisfying manpower needs.

Funds should be specifically allocated for the establishment and operation of research and curriculum developmental laboratories, which will assess, develop, field test, and evaluate curriculum needed for the highly industrialized society to which they will return.

Fulfilling these provisions will prepare the student for the undertaking of work which may be useful for him in his exile, host, and future liberated community in South Africa. It will also serve to cultivate critical thinking in order to enable him to prioritize his present and future educational objectives.

The thrust in the area of South African refugee education could be achieved by strengthening their future national aspirations while developing all skills necessary for their survival in exile.

In conclusion, this study has attempted to address the major aspects necessary for the development of relevant

curriculum planning which could have a positive and profound effect in the lives of South African refugees.

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A P P E N D I X I

QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED

1. What do you think the host countries' philosophy of Refugee Education is?
2. What do you think the host countries' philosophy of Eeucation for Refugees should be?
3. Do you think their educational policies reflect those of future liberated South Africa.
4. Do you think the host countries' philosophy and those of South Africa after independence should be the same?
5. Do you think the Institution you are going to attend has goals that reflect your educational philosophy?
6. Do you think the liberation movements have an educational policy?
7. What do you think these movements are actually concerned with?
8. During your educational career has there been significant changes in the curriculum (if so, what are some of these changes?)?
9. Has the Institution implemented some curriculum change to accommodate your educational goals?
10. If there was a committee in your Institution concerned with your education policies what issues do you think should be resolved?

11. Who actually makes major decisions concerning your education?
12. What should be a primary purpose of the student's participation in the liberation struggle? (e.g., go for military training, for more educational training, enhance student's political understanding of apartheid in South Africa and search for progressive avenues, etc.)?
13. Who should finance refugee education? (Refugee education would include vocational training, high school education, university education, military education and professional education.)
14. Who should be concerned with supporting and promoting refugee education.
15. Do you think a separate institution should be built to cater to South African refugees only?
16. What should the major curriculum activities be?
17. Who should teach in such an institution: South African, host countries' or international professionals?
18. With regard to this institution's role in South Africa's developmental needs which subjects should be given higher priorities?
19. What role should the liberation movement leaders play in the development of such an institution?
20. What role should the host country play in the development of this institution?

21. Should host nationals be admitted to this institution?
22. What role should international organizations play in the development of such an institution?
23. Should all refugees go for higher education considering the lack of such opportunities in South Africa?
24. What are the major educational problems or issues facing South African refugees?
25. In your opinion can those issues be externally resolved?
26. Should this institution be a model for future South African education policy, for development and nation building?

A P P E N D I X I I

CLASSIFICATIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN REFUGEES

There are several classifications of Southern African refugees:

The majority of the Zimbabwean and Namibian refugees come from the rural areas. They go into exile by entering neighboring countries because of the intensification of armed struggle for liberation inside their own country. Family units (which transcend age) can be found in refugee camps in Mozambique, Botswana, etc.

South African refugees range in age primarily from 12-27. Their rationale for leaving South Africa varies. The major reason is the effect of political oppression and the apartheid regimes. The largest group joins in military training units while some seek educational and career opportunities. There is a distinct minority who flee because or the lack of employment opportunity and make up the bulk of older refugees. However, they are all classified as refugees, whatever the circumstances of their leaving. Collectively, the South African refugee is an urbanized group coming from a highly industrialized society into developing host countries. By virtue of their background their needs differ from the rest of the Southern African refugees, whose

countries are not as highly developed as South Africa.